ENGLISH HISTORY FROM CONTEMPORARY WRITERS

England under Charles II

1660-1678

EDITED BY

W. F. TAYLOR

DAVID NUTT,
270, STRAND, LONDON.

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England under Charles ii.

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CHARLES II.

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England under Charles ii. From the Restoration to the Treaty of Nimeguen,

1660—1678

Extracts from Contemporary Records

ARRANGED AND EDITED BY

W. F. TAYLOR

LONDON

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PREFACE.

"In the fat age of pleasure, wealth, and ease,
Sprung the rank weed, and thrived with large increase;
When love was all an easy monarch's care,
Seldom at council, never in a war;
Jilts ruled the state, and statesmen farces writ;
Nay, wits had pensions, and young lords had wit;
The fair sat panting at a courtier's play,
And not a mask went unimproved away;
The modest fan was lifted up no more,
And virgins smiled at what they blushed before."

Pope: Essay on Criticism.

In the earlier volumes of this series of "English History from Contemporary Writers" the editors have been compelled by scantiness of material to draw their quotations from three or four authors, the only ones who, as regarded the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, could be called contemporary. More fortunate than they, I have had a much larger field from which to collect, and have endeavoured to add new authorities to the already well-stocked hunting grounds of the historian of the Restoration. In striving to obtain the historical data contained in this little book as free from the garbled versions of party feeling as possible, great care has been taken. Perhaps the most curious matter in the volume is

that the description of Oliver Cromwell at the commencement of the work, which pourtrays him so favourably, should have been written by a Royalist, and such an expression of opinion has a likelihood of truth much greater than if it had been included amongst the fulsome eulogies of a bigoted Roundhead.

With all these advantages, the method adopted in this volume has its drawbacks; the introduction of works, little if at all used before, makes the description of their authors more difficult, and anything like the succinct and masterly account of Froissart or Matthew Paris in the first and second volumes of the series would be impossible. Amongst familiar faces, however, we recognise our old friend Pepys, who, since his shorthand diary was intended for the perusal of none but himself, wrote down nothing but the truth, and whose position as secretary to the Admiralty gave him access both to papers and information long since otherwise lost; may we some day have an editor competent to issue a *perfect* edition of him! Pepys' benefits to us are not confined merely to the diary which bears his name; he left behind him an enormous collection, in five folio volumes, of early English ballad poetry, first begun under the superintendence of lord chancellor Selden, from which are to a great extent taken Dr. Percy's Reliques of Ancient Poetry, and which surpass in value and completeness even the celebrated Roxburghe collection of ballads. After partial blindness had compelled him to relinquish his shorthand diary, May 31, 1669, he had the misfortune to be implicated

in the Popish Plot, and upon an unfounded charge of conspiracy was committed to the Tower, from which, however, he was eventually released without trial and reinstated in his post at the Admiralty, which he retained till the accession of William III. and his retirement into private life. He was for two years president of the Royal Society, and died in 1703.

Some defence must be offered for the selection of passages from Defoe's "Journal of the Plague Year" in illustrating the progress of that dreadful epidemic. Defoe, though not in London itself during the plague, gathering his information from those who had lived through the whole of the visitation, and from one other source, the published bills of mortality, wrote a narrative which, for vividness of description and general accuracy of fact, is by far the finest prose work of its time, not excepting his inimitable "Robinson Crusoe," which, though based upon Selkirk's story, contains so little fact and so much of fiction.

For the history of the Great Fire such scanty information has come down to us owing to the burning of almost all the printing presses in the fire itself, that the letter of Sir Edward Atkyn, first printed in the Archæologia (vol. xix., p. 105), giving such a short yet clear description of the progress of the fire, is a perfect windfall.

Rugge's MS. diary, 1659-1672, which, by the way, has in process of time become shamefully dog-eared and worn, and the MS. λοιμογραφία of Boghurst—who actually practised as a physician for the plague—both of which are preserved in the British Museum,

have been of great assistance. Clarendon's History of the Reign of Charles II., printed in 1755, which was destroyed before publication upon an injunction granted to the Duchess of Queensbury, and of which but five or six copies escaped destruction, one in my possession, another in the British Museum, and a third, I believe, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, is also a work from which much may be learnt. Most of the quotations from this work to be found in the present work are taken from the edition of 1792 edited by Mr. Cormick, since it is more generally accessible. The "Mémoires de Grammont," by Count Anthony Hamilton, certainly truthful, are of value to the study of the morals which prevailed at the court of Charles; and the memoirs of Reresby, Bramston, Sidney, and many others, may be read with interest by the student. Quotations may be found from the whole of these authors in the present volume, but space forbids more than a mere mention of their names in an already too lengthy preface. "Burnet's History of His Own Time" has been used but sparingly, and I should like to point out to students of this period the advice of von Ranke in the appendix on Burnet at the end of his "History of England in the Seventeenth Century," more especially these words, which cannot be taken too carefully to heart:—"In historical works of this kind the personal element will prevail; a man will not desert in his writings the party to which he belongs in his life."

For the history of the Treaty of 1676 I have used

a little book called the Secret History of Whitehall, compiled from the correspondence of a gentleman who was, we are told, English secretary to Louvois, then foreign minister of France, and who had access to all the papers relating to it; he, in letters purporting to be addressed to an English nobleman, reveals what I have not the least hesitation in asserting were the true opinions of the French court, although they are not authenticated by any name. These anonymous letters were published in 1717 by a gentleman named Jones, who, in a preface of remarkable strength, points out the various arguments for their authenticity. Apart from this they contain unquestionably the fullest account of the Treaty of 1676, and the ascendency of the French king over Charles II. that has come down to us and as such I have used them.

What few extracts it has been possible to make from the satire of the time have been used with the greatest readiness on my part, but the more modest ears of modern readers might shrink from the unvarnished description of the unparalleled licence at Charles' court, needful as it is to a true appreciation of the literature and the history, not only of the time, but of a considerable number of our British titles. It needs not a close inspection of our English peerage to see how true Butler's verses were :—

> "Most of thy court, in time, much rather
> Than call thee king will call thee father."

To those who wish to see Charles and his court in their true light I may indicate but two or three

authors who will effectually bear out my assertion. Butler's "Court Burlesqued" and "Hudibras," the works of Dryden, Sir John Denham's poems, particularly "Advice to a Painter," Andrew Marvell's works, of which the best edition is the splendid one of Mr. Grosart, and for the debasing influence which the court exercised upon literature, the poems of the earls of Rochester, Roscommon, and Dorset, three of the *luminaries* of the age.

It is not generally appreciated how strained were the relations between king and parliament during the latter half of Charles' reign. At times little was wanting to produce a repetition of the fate of Charles I., or, at least, an anticipation of what occurred under James II. The somewhat lengthy extract which has been given from a scarce tract containing the reports of debate upon the grant of £600,000 in 1677 cannot fail but show how great was the exasperation of the Commons against the king, which rumours—but too well founded—of the compacts made by Charles and Louis XIV. had brought about. The hardly disguised threats, the stringent acts against Roman Catholics, and the suspicions with which everything French was regarded, might have had quite a different ending but for the outlet provided by the Popish plot, from which, though it was supposed to be directed against himself, the king was scarcely excluded. Had there been a civil war in the reign of Charles II., England might now be either a republic or a colony of France.

Last, and perhaps most of all, have I to acknow-

ledge the indebtedness I am under, especially in the matter of dates, to a little book, published in London by one William Crook, the first edition in 1679, the second in 1690, and the third in 1710, called the "Historian's Guide." Copies of each of the three editions are preserved in the British Museum, but I am not aware of any modern historian who has made use of, with acknowledgment, what is, in its way, a most interesting contemporary chronicle, which has not the inconvenience of size, that great drawback to the use of the newspapers of the time.

To those who shall find fault in the spelling of certain names, such as Monk, which most certainly ought to be spelt Munck, I can only say that, with a few exceptions, I have used the accepted spelling of proper names and not the haphazard and variable spellings used indiscriminately by different authorities.

Amongst the many friends whom I have to thank for assistance in the production of this volume, I must particularly mention Mr. Bullen, of the British Museum, to whose kindness I owe the completion of this work to my own satisfaction, and, I hope, to the reader's.

Harrow. W. F. TAYLOR.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE DEATH OF OLIVER CROMWELL TO THE RESTORATION.

Andrew Marvell's description of Charles II.

Works, ed. 1872. *Grosart*, vol. i., p. 343.

Of a tall stature, and of sable hue,
Much like the son of Kish, that lofty Jew;
Twelve years complete he suffered in exile,
And kept his father's asses all the while.
At length by wonderful impulse of fate,
The people call him home to help the State;
And what is more they give him money too,
And clothe him all from head to foot anew:
Nor did he such small favours then disdain,
Who in his thirtieth year began his reign.

Sept. 3, 1658.—Death of Oliver Cromwell; his personal peculiarities.

Reresby's Memoirs, ed. 1735, vol. i. pp. 1-2.

This year died the Protector, Oliver Cromwell, one of the greatest and bravest men, had his cause been good, the world ever saw. His actions I leave . . I can only say that his figure did not come up to his character; he was indeed a likely person but not

handsome nor had he a very noble look about him. He was plain in his apparel, and rather negligent than not. Tears he had at will and was doubtless the greatest dissembler on earth.

1658-1660.—State of affairs after the death of Cromwell.

Memoirs of Sir John Bramston. Camden Soc., 1845, p. 112.

When Cromwell died, and his son was owned and received Protector by some of the officers of the army, though opposed by others, differences grew. Fleetwood and Desborough, great men and allied to that family, yet thought themselves as worthy as Dick Cromwell; and Lambert, not less ambitious than they, meant to have the command from them all and set up for himself; but yet Thurloe and the major part of Cromwell's counsellors carried [it] for young Cromwell, alleging it was the old Protector's wish; and he had possession of the title of Protector, and addresses came to him acknowledging him for such from most counties; yet many would endure no single person. By this means differences grew here. Monk who commanded in chief in Scotland, and by building forts and by garbling his army had perfectly mastered that nation, of which Oliver was jealous, and in his lifetime had sent for him home, as that he durst not trust the Scots. Lambert knew he should not effect his design if Monk stood; and Monk was certain to be destroyed if Lambert prevailed or Richard stood.

Oliver Cromwell.

Monk marches south, his further proceedings.

Ibid.

Monk first garbled his army, both officers and soldiers that he anyway had doubt of, or that he could not absolutely rule, and prevailed with the Scots to raise money for his journey into England; and leaving the principal command of those forces he left behind unto Colonel Morgan (a little man but a very great soldier), he, with a small army, but well affected to him marches for England; and having by his great taciturnity concealed his design, and temporising, fooled Scott and Robinson, two spies sent from the Rump to discover his design, he came by easy marches to London, refusing to come into the city until the other army was removed thence to other quarters pretending the hazard and danger of quarrels if both the armies should be mingled in the same quarters. As he came through the several counties, he was visited by all parties, the Lord Fairfax amongst others, who offered him his assistance as did others, but would [take] none, and he promised a free Parliament to such as desired it. So soon as he came to London, the Rump sent to him to pull down the city gates. Monk obeyed their commands and did pull down the gates; and understanding well what was designed against him by the Rumpers, who resolved to take the whole command of the army from him, and make him at most but the third part of a general, he marched of a sudden with his army out of London into Westminster, and this made the council of state as they were called, to scatter and shift for themselves; some

ran quite away, and Nicholas Love, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, who was to be president of the council at that time, being come to Whitehall and in their council chamber, made haste and got into some hole, never heard of again after that I could learn. Monk calls the secluded members to come to their places (they were Presbyterians who were thrown out of the house by Cromwell and the army), which many of them did; and he appoints out of them a secret council. Amongst these was Grimston, Maynard, Swinfen, old Lenthall, &c.; but he had agreed with them to dissolve so soon as they had issued writs for a free Parliament, which all men desired.

April 20, 1658.—More particular accounts of Monk. Monk suspected by the Republicans.

Lord Fauconberg to Henry Cromwell in Ireland.

Colonel Lilburn is at home a malcontent because General Monk has changed some of his officers, yet keeps his commission notwithstanding. G—— and B—— their commissions are still in limbo and like to continue so, though O—— his officers petitioned that B—— might command them.

October 12, 1658.—His professions against Charles.

Monk to Thurloe, secretary of the Parliamentarian Council of State.

Many thanks for the good news you sent us. Truly it was very considerable to us at this time. . . . . For news here have we none. There are no letters come over yet to any persons here

to make any disturbance ; and I hope as things stand those designs of Charles will be laid aside, and there is little probability of their doing any good in these parts. I am very glad to hear there is like to be no more motion of that business amongst the officers that you wrote of last.

January 16, 1660.—And protestations in favour of the Commonwealth.

Ludlow's Memoirs, ed. 1698-99, vol. ii., p. 822.

He gave the Parliament good words, for which they heaped their favours upon him ; they voted one thousand pounds per annum to be settled on him. And that nothing might be wanting to complete this scene, Monk's wife took especial care to treat the wives of the members that came to visit her, running out herself to fetch the sweetmeats, and filling out wine for them ; not forgetting to talk mightily of self-denial, and how much it was upon her husband's heart that the government might be settled in the way of a Commonwealth.

What he said in a conversation with General Ludlow.

Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii., p. 834.

I assure you, though I bear as much respect for Parliaments as any man, yet if I should observe a Parliament to be about such a thing [bringing in the king] I would interrupt them therein. . . . We must live and die together for a Commonwealth.

March 8, 1660.—Reported to have declared for a free Parliament.

Report of a correspondent at the Hague to Thurloe.

Till the coming of this post we were here filled with news from Brussels, that the lord Monk had declared for a free Parliament, and without abjuration of the king, or oath to the Commonwealth ; but the post coming in we were otherwise informed ; and yet Newport writes that a man can write of affairs with no certainty.

March 12, 1660.—The House orders the organisation of the Militia.

From the Printed Act, printed March 16, 1660.

An Act for settling the militia in England and Wales. It is hereby enacted that the persons hereafter mentioned shall be and are hereby appointed to be commissioners of the militia of the several counties and places hereafter named of England and Wales and town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, viz. : — [here follows a list of names]. In the several counties, cities, towns, and places respectively . . . the said commissioners shall have power, and are hereby authorised to assemble and meet in some convenient place and then to call together all and every such well-affected person or persons . . . and them to well and sufficiently from time to time cause to be armed, arrayed, and weaponed ; and to form into companies, troops, and regiments . . . . to be . . . employed . . . for suppressing of all insurrections, rebellions, and invasions, &c., &c.

Mar. 12, 1660.—Monk fears that counter sedition in the army will spoil his plans.

John Barwick to Sir Edward Hyde.

The common soldiers are so deluded by some officers of the Republican party as to believe they shall lose not only their trade but also the arrears, if the king comes to his right, and thereupon to put them into a very great hatred of his majesty; it is a desperate design and will in all probability ruin the whole party; however Monk is troubled at it, they are so near breaking out, as he must hasten his new model and declare sooner than he would.

March 16.—The Long Parliament dissolves itself by its own authority; writs are issued for a new Parliament.

From the Printed Act, printed March 20, 1660.

An Act for dissolving the Parliament begun the third of November, 1640.

Be it enacted and declared by this present parliament and the authority thereof that the parliament held at Westminster, the third day of November, in the year of our Lord God, one thousand six hundred and forty, from and after the sixteenth day of March, in the year of our Lord God, one thousand six hundred and fifty-nine [sixty] be dissolved to all intents and purposes. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid that a parliament be summoned to be holden, and be holden accordingly at Westminster, upon the five and twentieth day of April, in the year of our Lord God, one thousand six hundred and sixty.

March 19, 1660.—Form of writ issued by the Rump as "Keepers of the liberties of England."

From a broadside of the year 1660.

The keepers of the liberties of England by authority of Parliament to the sheriff of the county of —— greeting; whereas it is enacted that a parliament shall be held at Westminster the five and twentieth day of April next ensuing: therefore we made of the day and place aforesaid in your next county to be holden after the receipt of this our writ, you cause to be freely and indifferently chosen by them, who shall be present at such election, knights, ... and of every city of the said county, citizens, and of every borough, burgesses, &c., &c.

Ordered by the parliament that the lord chancellor, lord keeper, or lords commissioners of the great seal of England for the time being, are hereby authorised and required to cause writs under the great seal of England to be issued forth accordingly; and this shall be to them a sufficient warrant in that behalf.

March 20, 1660.—Thurloe is informed with certainty of Monk's plans.

Elizabeth Einzy, letter of information to Thurloe.

Last night there came a gentleman to take his leave of me, who this day is gone for Flanders with a message from Mordaunt, Massey, and Brown, and divers others of the chief officers of London, to the king, wherein they do declare that general Monk hath vowed to them he will bring in the king; yet they say they will not trust him, for he will play fast and loose.

April 7, 1660.—The royalist hopes of return.

Mercurius Politicus, 1660, *No.* 615, p. 1139.

From Brussels. Here is no other talk now but of the affairs of England, the king of Scots, and his followers being in great hopes that they shall shortly return for England, upon which score the people here are very forward to supply them with money and credit.

April 21, 1660.—Monk presses the raising of the militia, not yet completed.

Mercurius Publicus, 1660, *No.* 17, p. 272.

His Excellency hath sent to the commissioners of of Westminster to desire them forthwith to settle their militia, that they might be in a posture to defend themselves against their enemies, in case he should draw out from them.

April 25, 1660.—The Convention Parliament assembles.

Parliamentary Intelligencer, 1660, No. 18, p. 280.

This day [Wednesday] both houses of parliament, Lords and Commons, met at St. Margaret's church at Westminster, where Dr. Reynolds preached before them. . . . The sermon being ended, the Lords went to the Lords' house and the Commons to theirs. The Lords made choice of the earl of Manchester for their speaker. . . The House of Commons chose Sir Harbottle Grimston for their speaker.

Monk shows himself in his true colours.

Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii., p. 875.

Hitherto Monk had continued to make solemn

protestations of his affection and fidelity to the commonwealth interest, against a king and House of Lords ; but the new militia being settled and a convention calling themselves a Parliament and fit for his purpose being met . . . . he sent for such as had sat with the Parliament till 1648 to return to the place where they used to sit, which they did.

Charles by Monk's advice sends the Declaration of Breda to the Convention Parliament.

Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii., p. 875.

And Charles Stuart, eldest son to the late king, being informed of these transactions, left the Spanish territories where he then resided, and by the advice of Monk went to Breda, a town belonging to the states of Holland: from whence he sent his letters and a declaration to the two houses by Sir John Grenville.

The Declaration of Breda.

Parliamentary Intelligencer, No. 19, pp. 289, 290.

His Majesty's gracious letter and declaration sent to the House of Lords by Sir John Grenville, knight, one of his Majesty's bedchamber, from Breda. His gracious message with the declaration to the House of Commons ; and his gracious letter, with the declaration enclosed, to his Excellency the lord general Monk, to be communicated to the officers of the armies under his command ; as likewise his Majesty's gracious letter and declaration sent to the

General Monk.
Duke of Albemarle.

Lord Mayor, aldermen, and common council of the city of London. In all which I refer you to the printed copies at large, giving you only the heads of the declaration wherein his Majesty grants a free general pardon to all his subjects whatever that shall, within forty days after the publishing thereof, lay hold upon that grace and favour, and by any public act declare their doing so, excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament; such only excepted, his Majesty promiseth upon the word of a king, that no crime committed either against him or his royal father shall (as far as lies in his Majesty's power) endamage the least either in lives, liberties, estates, or reputation; it being his Majesty's desire that all sorts of discord should be laid aside among all his subjects. His Majesty doth further declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be called in question for differences of opinion in matter of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom, and that all differences and all things relating to grants, sales and purchases shall be determined by Parliament, which can best provide for the just satisfaction of all men who are concerned. His Majesty doth farther declare that he will be ready to consent to any act or acts of Parliament to the purposes aforesaid, and for the full satisfaction of all arrears due to the officers and soldiers of the army under the command of general Monk, and that they shall be received in his Majesty's service upon as good pay and conditions as they now enjoy.

May 1, 1660.—Its reception by the Lords.

Parliamentary Intelligencer, No. 19, pp. 291, 292.

Whitehall, Tuesday.—The House of Lords being informed that Sir John Grenville attended at the door with a letter from his Majesty, the earl of Manchester, speaker to the House of Lords, went down near the clock to receive it of him. The letter with a declaration enclosed was read in the House, and thanks ordered to be given to Sir John Grenville for bringing the gracious letter.

The House resolved that they do own and declare that according to the ancient and fundamental laws of this kingdom, the government is and ought to be by king, lords and commons. That the lords having a deep sense of the miseries and distractions that this kingdom hath been involved in since the violent attempts to dissolve the established government, do desire that some way may be considered how to make up these breaches; and to obtain the king's return again to his people.

May 2, 1660, Wednesday.—The lords resolved upon a number of . . . lords to join with a number of the House of Commons, to consider of an answer to his Majesty's gracious letter and declaration and to prepare some things in order to what was mentioned in a conference yesterday.

May 1, 1660.—How the Commons received the declaration.

Parliamentary Intelligencer, No. 19, p. 293.

Resolved—*nemine contradicente*. That a committee be appointed to prepare an answer to his Majesty's

letter, expressing the great and joyful sense of house of his gracious offers and their humble and hearty thanks to his Majesty for the same, and with professions of their loyalty and duty to his Majesty, and that this House will give a speedy answer to his Majesty's gracious proposals.

A committee was appointed accordingly.

Resolved—*nemine contradicente*. That the sum of £50,000 be presented to his Majesty by the House.

Tuesday afternoon.—Resolved that this House doth agree with the lords and do own and declare, that according to the ancient and fundamental laws of this kingdom, the government is and ought to be by king, lords, and commons.

May 3, 1660.—The Commons thank Grenville for bringing it.

Mercurius Publicus, No. 19, p. 292.

Thursday.—The House being informed that Sir John Grenville was at the door, he was called in to receive the thanks of the House, which Mr. Speaker delivered, as followeth :

Sir John Grenville,—I need not tell you with what grateful and thankful hearts the Commons now assembled in Parliament have received his Majesty's gracious letter, *res ipsa loquitur:* you yourself have been *auricularis et ocularis testis de rei veritate.* Our bells and our bonfires have already begun the proclamation of his Majesty's goodness and of our joys. We have told the people that our king, the glory of England, is coming home again, and they have

resounded it back again in our ears that they are ready and their hearts are open to receive him; both Parliament and people have cried aloud in their prayers to the King of Kings, Long live king Charles the second!

May 8, 1660.—Both Houses pass resolutions urging the King to return.

Mercurius Publicus, No. 19, p. 304.

Tuesday.—At the House of Commons. Resolved, That the king's Majesty be desired to make a speedy return to his Parliament, and to the exercise of his kingly office.

May 9, 1660. Wednesday.—Ordered by the Lords and Commons that general Montague do receive the commands of the king's Majesty for the disposal of the fleet in order to his Majesty's return.

The Lords agreed to the vote for his Majesty's return to the Parliament and kingly office.

May 10, 1660.—Charles transports his Court to the Hague.

Mercurius Publicus, No. 20, p. 320.

Thursday.—By a person of quality who was at Breda on Saturday last and came away thence that day by way of Flushing, we are informed that his sacred Majesty went from thence to the Hague, where his Majesty was to be that night; and that the said person having taken shipping for England at Flushing he met at sea the Parliament's commissioners going to his Majesty; he said likewise that

the report there was that his Majesty was to go from thence to the Brill to take shipping with the first opportunity.

May 6, 1660.—Whilst at the Hague he receives a public visit from the States General.

Public Intelligencer, No. 11, p. 162.

On the 6th instant the whole body of the States of Holland and West Friesland went to congratulate his Majesty, which day also they entertained his royal Majesty: after dinner there arrived the commissioners from both Houses of Parliament.

On the 7th . . . his Majesty is resolved to take shipping on Tuesday or Wednesday following.

Charles sets sail, lands at Dover, and proceeds to Canterbury.

Mercurius Publicus, No. 22, p. 342.

Tuesday morning the duke of York went to the fleet to give order as high admiral of England for his Majesty's reception and the transportation of all his retinue. On Wednesday his sacred Majesty, the queen of Bohemia, the princess Royal, the most illustrious the duke of York, and duke of Gloucester, and prince of Orange went aboard general Montague in his good ship, formerly named the Naseby, but now christened by his Majesty the Royal Charles, where, after a repast, the queen of Bohemia, the princess Royal, and prince of Orange having taken leave of his Majesty, they set sail for England; his Majesty in the royal Charles, the duke of York in the London, and the duke of Gloucester in the James, formerly

called the Swiftsure; the Speaker was likewise now christened Princess Mary. On Friday, about three o'clock in the morning, they were in sight of Dover, whereupon an express was sent to the general [Monk], then at Canterbury, to haste to Dover, which he did accordingly, and about one of the clock came thither. His Majesty landed about three in the afternoon at the beach near the pier of Dover with the duke of York, duke of Gloucester, and many of his nobles. Now did all put themselves in a posture for to observe the meeting of the best of kings and most deserving of subjects: the admirers of majesty were jealous on the king's behalf of too low a condescension, and the lovers of duty fearful on the other side of an ostentation of merit; but such an humble prostration was made by his Excellency kneeling, and so fitting a reception by his Majesty kissing and embracing him, that all parties were satisfied . . . . his Majesty walked up with the general, a canopy being carried over his head, towards the coach . . . about two miles beyond Dover his Majesty took horse, and the dukes on the right hand of the king and the general on the left, bare, after whom followed the duke of Buckingham and several of the nobility and gentry, bare to Canterbury—where he remains till Monday, and then intends to set forward on his journey, to be on Tuesday at London.

It is reported that his Majesty gave the George and Garter to his Excellency general Monk, and that the duke of York, to express his affection to him, put them on.

The Restauration of King Charles the 2.d

Monk and his friends made members of the Privy Council.

History of the reign of Charles II. *Clarendon*, ed. 1755, vol. I, p. 13.

The next day [at Canterbury] he [Charles] made the general knight of the garter, and admitted him of the council; and likewise at the same time he gave the signet to Mr. Morris, who was sworn of the council and secretary of state; and Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, who had been presented by the general under a special recommendation, was then too sworn of the council; . . . .

May 28, 1660.—Charles' further progress to London, his meeting with Parliament and the general rejoicings.

Mercurius Publicus, No. 22, pp. 349-351.

On Monday . . . . his Majesty came into Rochester. . . . The mayor and corporation of the city presented his Majesty with a bason and ewer of silver gilt, of good value, which was well received. His Majesty took his journey from Rochester betwixt four and five in the morning. . . . . At Blackheath the army was drawn up, where his Majesty received them, giving out many expressions of his gracious favour to the army, which were received by loud shoutings and rejoicings. Several bonfires were made as his Majesty came along, and one more remarkable than the rest for bigness where the States' arms were burned.

When his Majesty reached St. George's Field the

lord mayor and the aldermen were in a tent ready to receive him. There the lord mayor delivered unto his Majesty his sword, upon his knees, which his Majesty gave back to him; after a repast taken there, his Majesty came towards Whitehall, where, after the lord mayor took his leave, his Majesty went to the lords, where was a speech made to his Majesty, and another in the banqueting house by the speaker of the House of Commons . . . which done his Majesty retired himself and supped with the two dukes in the Chart Chamber.

The solemnity of this day was concluded with an infinite number of bonfires . . . there were almost as many bonfires in the streets as houses throughout London and Westminster. And among the rest in Westminster a very costly one was made, where the effigies of the old Oliver Cromwell was set up upon a high post with the arms of the Commonwealth, which, having been exposed there a while to the public view, with torches lighted that every one might take better notice of them, were burnt together.

Charles' entertainment at the Hague, its reasons.

Letter from Francis Newport to Sir R. Leveson.

1660, May 29, London.—The Hollanders entertained the king at the Hague most magnificently, and presented him in money, plate, and a bed to the value of £60,000 and are very apprehensive of a breach with us, which is apparent by all their discourses, as they say that come from there.

Effect of the Restoration upon trade.

Letter from Francis Newport to Sir R. Leveson.

1660, May 12, London.—The citizens never had such trading in their lives, their shops are fuller of customers than commodities.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE END OF THE HEALING PARLIAMENT.

THE ACT OF INDEMNITY.

The House of Commons proceeds to the Act of Indemnity.

Letter from Francis Newport to Sir R. Leveson.

1660, May 15, London.

That which the House of Commons hath done since I wrote to you last is, that in the Act of Oblivion they have agreed upon seven in number to be excepted for life and estate, but have not yet named them; others there are who were of the king's judges also, but perhaps did not sign the warrant for his execution, who will be excepted only as to their estates.

Charles' well affected clemency whilst still at the Hague.

Letter to Monk "to be communicated to the Officers of the army."

May 26, 1660.

If the licence and distemper of the time shall so far transport any men, as to presume upon memory of former animosities, and of what is past, to use

any reproaches towards them [*i.e.*, the officers who had served under Cromwell] we will look upon such persons as disturbers of the peace and security of the kingdom, and shall cause them to be prosecuted accordingly.

Charles I.'s Judges are summoned to appear.

Mercurius Publicus, No. 23, p. 359.

A proclamation, requiring the several persons who sat upon the late king, when sentence of death was pronounced against him, to render themselves in fourteen days after the publication of the proclamation, or else to be excepted out of the act of general pardon.

June 5, 1660.—A sum of money is ordered to be paid to Monk.

Mercurius Publicus, No. 23, p. 366.

Tuesday at the House of Commons.—The House took care for the payment of the £20,000 formerly ordered to the lord general Monk.

Monk's title as Peer.

Letter from Andrew Newport to Sir R. Leveson.

1660, June 26.

The general's title is duke of Albemarle (a place in Normandy belonging to the Plantagenets from whom he derives himself), earl of Torrington, viscount Coldstream, and baron of Potheridge (his house). Coldstream is the river in the north that lay between him and Lambert last year.

CHARLES I.

How the Commons went on with the Act of Indemnity.

Andrew Newport to Sir R. Leveson.

1660, June 9.

The king having pressed the expediting of the Act of Indemnity, and the Houses having an intention to punish in some degree divers others besides those seven that were the late king's judges, who are to die, which would take up much time they have resolved first to confiscate the estate of all that sat in the High Court of Justice upon the king, excepting three only, Hutchinson, Lascelles, and another; and they have excepted out of the Act twenty more not yet named, who are to be punished as shall be provided in another Act not yet made, by fines as is supposed, in which number I believe you will find Haselrig, Vane, St. John, Glyn, Maynard, Ellis, and divers others that have been alive since '48.

The same to the same.

1660, June 12.

Since my last the House hath been employed wholly or principally upon naming those persons they intend shall not have the benefit of the Act of Indemnity, but of the twenty they except there are but few named yet, the favour that some of them find in the House making the debates long. Yesterday the great debate was concerning the old speaker, Lenthall, in whose favour the general spoke much; but upon division of the House the opposers of Lenthall were the major part by eighty; so he will receive

no benefit by the Act. Sir Harry Vane was excepted likewise, and found but one (Noe) in the whole House to favour him. To-day they have excepted one major general Burton of Norfolk. Luke Robinson was expelled the House yesterday. Sir Harry Mildmay is sent for from Dover . . . . and Thurloe hath been with the king privately, and with the chancellor since. 'Tis said he will be (as he used to call it himself) ingenious.

The same to the same.
June 16, 1660.

The weather is not so hot, but the debates in the House equal it in warmth . . . . yesterday . . . . one Blackwell, a rich man, was excepted, and to-day alderman Pack.

The list of exceptions completed; the subsidy to the king, &c.

The same to the same.
June 20, 1660.

The king pressing the Commons continually to hasten the naming of the twenty persons they intended to except, yesterday the number was completed, as you will find by the book. To-day the proclamation of pardon to all but those the Houses except was proclaimed by the heralds in several places. The House to-day gave the king tonnage and poundage, and a Parliament man now tells me that the committee of religion to-day notes that all ministers that were put out of their benefices merely for their affection to the king, and were not otherwise scandalous, should be restored to their respective cures.

July 11, 1660.—The Act of Indemnity is sent up to the Lords.

Parliamentary Hist. Cobbett, ed. 1808, vol i. *Column* 80.

This day the long expected Act of Indemnity passed the Commons; it was entitled "An Act of free and general pardon, indemnity and oblivion," and was ordered to be sent up to the Lords.

Charles beseeches Parliament to be clement.

Secret History of the reign of Charles II. Clarendon, ed. 1792. vol. i., p. 80.

His Majesty went himself to the House of Lords on the 27th of July, and made a well-advised and persuasive speech . . . . "I earnestly desire you to depart from all particular animosities and revenge, or memory of past provocation, and to pass this Act [of Indemnity] without other exceptions than those who were immediately guilty of the murder of my father."

The Lords continue the debate.

Andrew Newport to Sir R. Leveson.

1660, Aug. 2.

The House of Lords are still upon debate of the several heads of the Act of Indemnity; the moderate speech of the king's stopped the career they intended, so that they satisfied themselves with the excepting of five more persons for life to be added to the seven that the House of Commons left to the law, and in estate none shall be punished: these five are Lambert, Haselrig, Sir H. Vane, Colonel Axtell, and Colonel Hacker; the four first of these were of the twenty

that the House of Commons intended to punish in their estates; Hacker was the man to whom the warrant was directed to see the king executed. But the House of Lords have ordered also that if any of the remaining sixteen shall hereafter presume to bear any office, civil, military, or ecclesiastical, that they shall receive no benefit from the Act of Indemnity; 'tis disputed whether the House of Commons will allow the pardon of these sixteen when the Act is returned to them.

The same to the same.

1660, Aug. 7.

To-day the Lords thought fit to except some persons from receiving benefit by the Act of Indemnity that sat upon Lords Hamilton, Holland, Derby, and Capell, Colonel Croxton, John Blackwell, one Wiburd, and Mr. Edmund Wareing.

The Bill of Indemnity is sent down.

The same to the same.

1660, Aug. 11.

The Bill of Indemnity hath passed the Lords' House with some alteration, and was this day sent down to the Commons.

What the Commons did with it. The king eats his own words.

Andrew Newport to Sir R. Leveson.

1660, Aug. 16.

When the Lords sent down the Act of Indemnity to the Commons with their amendments, the House of Commons nevertheless adhered to their former

votes concerning those that should die; only joined with the Lords in excepting Hacker, and for clearing sixteen of the twenty they had formerly resolved to punish by a future Act in estate, they joined with the Lords also, and so sent up the Bill again. The Lords, upon reading the Bill, adhered to their votes also, which occasioned a conference to-day, in which the Lords gave their reasons for adhering to their first vote. . . . The king hath given order to Sir Ed. Turner to acquaint the House of Commons that, by that clause in his speech "If there be any other of such dangerous principles that the safety of the nation cannot consist with their liberty, they should also be punished," he meant Haselrig, Vane, Lambert, and Axtell.

Monk appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland.

Pepys's Diary, ed. 1854, v. i., p. 103.

Aug. 21, 1660.

General Monk is made lieutenant of Ireland.

The final form of the Act of Indemnity.

Andrew Newport to Sir R. Leveson.

1660, Aug. 25.

Yesterday the Commons showed their reasons why they could not agree with the Lords in excepting those of the king's judges that rendered themselves, and to-day the Lords offered this expedient: that all the king's judges should be excepted from benefit by the Bill (in which case they were left to the law which will certainly condemn them); but that those that rendered themselves upon the proclamation should

not be executed but by Act of Parliament. Upon report of this to the Commons, they agreed with the Lords, and now if the Act can so soon be engrossed, 'tis believed it will be passed by the king on Tuesday next. Haselrig shall forfeit estate only, Axtell both life and estate, Lambert and Sir H. Vane are excepted both for life and estate also, but the Houses will petition the king to pardon the lives of these two. Wareing and the other three that sat upon the Lords are passed by wholly.

The king's assent to the Act of Indemnity.

Parl. History, vol. i. *Column* 114.

Aug. 29.

His Majesty was pleased to give his royal assent to the said Bills, after which he made a very gracious speech.

Immediate results of the Act.—Trial of Harrison.

Andrew Newport to Sir R. Leveson.

Oct. 11, 1660.

To-day Harrison was the only man tried . . . he said he had often prayed, with tears, that God would direct him, and it was revealed to him to be a just action to put the king to death, who (he said) had made war against the Parliament and was guilty of all the bloodshed in the war. When they endeavoured to prove his hand to the warrant for execution, he wished them not to lose time, and, calling for the paper, said he believed it to be his hand. The jury concluded him guilty without going from the bar, and he was immediately sentenced to be hanged,

drawn, and quartered; after this he went away smiling without any appearance of trouble.

Execution of Harrison, more sentences passed.

Andrew Newport to Sir R. Leveson.

1660, Oct. 13, London.

Harrison was hanged, drawn, and quartered to-day at Charing Cross; he trembled much when he first came upon the ladder, but excused it by the ill-usage he had in Newgate since his condemnation and said he thanked God he came with as much content to die there as he did to commit the act for which he suffered; he was going, he said, to sit at the right hand of Jesus to judge us all. Yesterday Scroope, Carew, Scott, Clements, and Jones were condemned; to-day Hugh Peters and Cooke, and they say Hewlett will be proved to be the man that cut off the king's head.

Execution of Carew, Peters, Cooke, and the rest.

William Smith to John Langley.

1660, Oct. 20.

On Monday [Harrison was executed on the previous Saturday] John Carew died in the same place and manner. On Tuesday despairing Hugh Peters, and John Cooke, the only penitent, were hanged and quartered in the same place. On Wednesday Thomas Scott railing, and Gregory Clements howling, because he said his sin could not be forgiven, died as and where the rest; and an hour after came John Jones, and made no bones either of his fact or fortune, and he with Adrian Scroope, who all along

desired the prayers of the people, ended their lives by the same death and in the same place; and now the stench of their burnt bowels had so putrefied the air, as the inhabitants thereabout petitioned his Majesty there might be no more executed in that place; therefore on Friday Francis Hacker, without remorse, and Daniel Axtell who dissolved himself into tears and prayers for the king and his own soul, were executed at Tyburn, where Hacker was only hanged, and his brother Rowland Hacker had his body entire, which he begged, and Axtell was quartered. The rest of the condemned rebels are returned to the Tower till his Majesty and the Parliament resolve what shall be done with them.

The king adjourns Parliament.

Andrew Newport to Sir R. Leveson.

Sept. 13, 1660.

The king went to the Lords' House and passed about twenty bills, after which he spoke very well to the Houses, and after him the chancellor made a large speech to them also. . . . The Houses adjourned till the sixth of November, but first voted a present of £10,000 to be made the Princess Royal at landing and as much to the Queen of Bohemia.

The king's brother, the duke of Gloucester, becomes ill and dies.

Andrew Newport to Sir R. Leveson.

1660, Sept. 4.

The duke of Gloucester hath been very sick and 'tis thought he will have the small-pox.

Duke of Gloucester,
Brother of Charles II.

Secret History of the Reign of Charles II., vol. i., p. 145, ed. 1792.

1660, Sept. 13.

The festivity of the court, on being relieved from parliamentary concerns during the recess, was checked and clouded by the death of the duke of Gloucester, the king's youngest brother. He had just entered upon his twenty-first year when he was carried off by the small-pox.

General mourning for the duke of Gloucester.

Andrew Newport to Sir R. Leveson.

Sept. 15, 1660.

The court is in deep mourning and will continue so for six weeks, after that in half mourning till the coronation of the king, the sixth of February next. The king is the most afflicted man at the death of brother.

Arrival of the Princess Royal at Whitehall.

Andrew Newport to Sir R. Leveson.

Sept. 25, 1660.

The Princess Royal came to Whitehall to-night, but is seen by none to-night; she is unprovided with mourning, having not heard of her brother's death till she was on ship board.

Rumours of the marriage of Anne Hyde and the duke of York.

Andrew Newport to Sir R. Leveson.

Oct. 8, 1660.

In mine by the last I told you that by the return of your servant you should receive an account of some passages that were not fit for the public

conveyance, which, in short, is this. There hath for some years been an amour between the duke of York and Mrs. Hyde; of late she hath kept her chamber, and 'tis said she is with a child; several discourses there are concerning it; some say, with great confidence, there was a contract, and that by some dexterity it is taken out of her hands again; others say there was no contract at all; the king hath been in much trouble about it, and the chancellor is so still; for the dilemma must necessarily be of ill-consequence both ways; how it will end is not yet known, but you shall have early notice.

First acquaintance between Anne Hyde and the duke of York.

Secret History of Charles II. Clarendon, vol. i., ed. 1792, p. 148.

Anne Hyde, the chancellor's eldest daughter, had, during the exile of the royal family, been appointed one of the maids of honour to the princess Royal, whom she accompanied in the year 1657 upon a visit to the queen mother at Paris. There it was the duke of York first saw and admired her.

Conference between the bishops and Presbyterian ministers, and what happened whilst it was sitting.

Andrew Newport to Sir R. Leveson.

Oct. 23, 1660, London.

Yesterday a conference was held before the king at the lord chancellor's betwixt the bishops and Presbyterian ministers concerning church government; the Presbyterians agreed to an episcopal government, but they would not have the bishops

have any power but jointly with the Presbyters and with their consent. At last they agreed that the bishop should act with the advice and assistance of his prebends and six ministers of his diocese. The Presbyterians pleaded much for power of suspension from the communion to be given to ministers, but that would not be granted, and they yielded at last that power only to the bishops and his assistants (as above); some liberty is given them to forbear some ceremonies if they please. Some parts of the Common Prayer (which are particularly mentioned) they must use, other parts they have liberty in, and some others are to have some small alteration; they are agreed in all matters and very suddenly. A declaration of church government will be set out. During this conference Mrs. Hyde fell in labour and notice being given of it, the king sent for the lady Ormond, lady Sunderland, and lady Cork; these with some bishops were commanded to be present at the labour, and to ask her (as they did) whose child it was; she said the duke of York's; they further asked her if she were married; she said she was (to the duke); they asked her also if any other man had known her, and with many imprecations she said none; thus the matter rests . . Mrs. Hyde's child is a boy.

Henrietta Maria comes to England.

Andrew Newport to Sir R. Leveson.
Oct. 20, 1660.

The queen intended to begin her journey this way yesterday, October 30.

The king went to meet her on Saturday, expecting her to land at Dover on Sunday night, to which purpose he intended to be there that night also. When they return we shall hear what will become of the business between the duke and the chancellor's daughter; some call her duchess of York already; in the chancellor's house altogether so.

Henrietta Maria arrives at Whitehall.

Mercurius Publicus, No. 44, p. 715.

Nov. 2, 1660.

This day his Majesty returned from going to bring his royal mother, the queen, to Whitehall, after her nineteen years' absence thence, with whom came the duke of York, the two princesses (Mary Princess of Orange and the Princess Henrietta) and Prince Edward, brother to the Prince Elector Palatine.

What the English thought of her.

Pepys' Diary. Lond. 1854, vol. i., p. 119.

Nov. 2.

I observed to-night very few bonfires in the city, not above three in all London, for the queen's coming, whereby I guess that (as I believed before) her coming do please but very few.

Reasons for the Queen's unpopularity. The Queen-mother complains of Charles's want of confidence so early as 1655.

Letter of Henrietta Maria (translated) *to Colepepper.*

Paris, Ap. 23, 1655.

My Lord Colepepper,—I have seen by several

letters which you have written to lord Jermyn, that you think it would be for the benefit of the king that there should be a better understanding than heretofore between him and me . . . there is no fault on my side . . . for more than two years he has not confided to me the state of his affairs except what could not be concealed . . . . I know that the king has been persuaded that it was dangerous to the good of his service that I should meddle in his affairs, by reason that my religion was offensive to England.

Her wrath at the Duke's mesalliance.

Andrew Newport to Sir R. Leveson.

Dec. 11, 1660.

I can now assure you that which is not yet confessed, and hath so long been the great dispute of the Court, I mean whether the duke would own his wife. I dare now give you my word he will, and that she shall be acknowledged duchess of York as soon as the queen is gone, whose journey begins the twenty-sixth of this month. The queen is grieved much at it, and thinks there was never more want of the Pope's power here than upon this occasion.

The marriage of Princess Henrietta to the Duke of Anjou is announced.

Andrew Newport to Sir R. Leveson.

1660, Nov. 6.

The duke d' Anjou will marry our very pretty Princess Henrietta.

Parliament reassembles.

Parliamentary Intelligencer, No. 46, p. 724.

Wednesday, Nov. 6.

This day the Lords and Commons (the recess being ended) met again in Parliament.

Charles desires the disbandment of the army, and the fixing of the revenue.

Secret Hist. of Charles II. Clarendon, ed. 1792, vol. i., p. 34.

There were two particulars which the king, with much inward impatience, did most desire, the disbanding of the army and the settlement of the revenue.

The army ordered to be disbanded.

From the Printed Act, 15, xii., Car. ii.

An Act for the speedy disbanding of the army and garrisons of this kingdom.

Whereas the people of this kingdom be under a great burthen and charge, in the maintenance and payment of the present army; now to the end the same may be disbanded and the country eased, &c.

A money grant for disbanding the army.

From the Printed Act, 20, xii., Car. ii.

An Act for raising seven score thousand pounds for the complete disbanding of the whole army and paying off some part of the navy.

More pay for the troops is voted; the progress made in disbanding the soldiers.

Samuel Terrick to Sir R. Leveson.

1660, November.

Six months' tax, at £70,000 a month, passed last Wednesday, for paying of the navy and remainder of the army; two regiments of horse and seven of foot yet to be disbanded.

Presents to the king from Holland.

The ambassadors of Holland have presented his Majesty with a rich bed thought worth £10,000 and £50,000 in rarest pictures the world affords.

The bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, and Pride ordered to be exhumed.

Andrew Newport to Sir R. Leveson.

Dec. 6.

The House of Commons voted yesterday the carcases of Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, and Pride to be forthwith taken up and drawn upon a hurdle to Tyburn, there hung in coffins awhile and then buried under the gallows.

A grant of tonnage and poundage to the king.

Taken from the Printed Act, 4, xii., Car. ii.

A subsidy granted to the king of tonnage and poundage and other sums of money, payable upon merchandise exported and imported.

Other money granted to the king.

From the Printed Act, 23, xii., Car. ii.

A grant of certain impositions upon beer, ale, and

other liquors for the increase of his Majesty's revenue during his life.

Death of the Princess Royal.

Mercurius Publicus, No. 53, pp. 8, 28, 829.

On Monday, December 24th, it pleased Almighty God to take into the kingdom of Heaven that most excellent princess Royal, Mary princess of Orange, sister to our sovereign lord the king.

Dissolution of the Healing Parliament.

Mercurius Publicus, No. 54, pp. 841, 845, 846.

On Saturday last, December 29, his Majesty went down to the Peers. It pleased his Majesty to make a most gracious speech to both Houses, wherein he was pleased to fix a name on this Parliament to live to all posterity, viz., the Healing and the Blessed Parliament. After which expressions, he referred the rest to be spoken by the lord high chancellor, who (according to custom) excellently set forth the happiness of his Majesty and his people, who only strive which should express most affection to each other, to the joy of all good men and the terror of all that refuse their own happiness by thoughts of embroiling the kingdom in blood, whose designs and plots are particularly mentioned in his lordship's speech, which concluded the Parliament, for then it was dissolved, but will never be forgotten for the good it had done (by the mercies of God) to this late most wicked nation.

Various Bills of the Healing Parliament.

From Printed Acts of the Year, xii., Car. ii.

24, xii., Car. ii.

(1) An Act for taking away the court of wards and liveries and tenures *in capite*, and by knights' service and purveyance, and for settling a revenue upon his Majesty in lieu thereof.

25, xii., Car. ii.

(2) An Act for the better ordering the selling of wines by retail and for preventing abuses in the mingling, corrupting, and vitiating of wines, and for settling and limiting the prices of the same.

35, xii. Car. ii.

(3) An Act for erecting and establishing a post office.

Whereas for the maintenance of mutual correspondences and prevention of many inconveniences happening by private posts, several post offices have heretofore been erected . . . . to the end therefore that the same may be managed so that speedy and safe despatches may be had, which is most likely to be effected by erecting one general post office for that purpose.

Be it therefore enacted . . . That there be from henceforth one general letter office, erected and established in the city of London, from whence all letters and packets whatsoever may be with speed and expedition sent into any part of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, or any other of his Majesty's dominions or into any kingdom or country beyond the seas, at which said office all returns and answers may be likewise received.

Complications arising from the disbandment of the army.

Rugge's MS. Diary, vol. i., pp. 228, 229.

Dec.

In this month one major White was committed prisoner to the Tower as report said for endeavouring plots and make a disturbance against kingly power, as that [quest] for those was made, and the king's guards doubled and cannon mounted in Whitehall, a regiment of trained bands, a company, a night appointed to watch, Duke Albemarle's regiment of foot came from the Tower and quartered in the suburbs of Westminster, many persons [were] committed, as major [general] Overton, colonel Zanchy . . and other colonels! Now as soon as this aforesaid plot as it was reported to be got amongst guards at the Tower, in the City, and at other places, that was suspected prejudicial to his Majesty, was very narnowly [enquired?] into, and for almost a fortnight all the talk was a plot . . most part of the army was disbanded, and for the most part of them they came up to London to endeavour a livelihood and the like, so that some reported as if they had a design to band again if possible, but that [resolve?] was by degrees talked of when nothing but report was the thing; but, however, to prevent further trouble of the melancholy [*i.e.* malcontent] soldiers disbanded, his Majesty was pleased to put forth this proclamation; the head of it was thus—

By the King,

A Proclamation commanding all cashiered officers

and soldiers and other persons that cannot give a good account of their being in London and Westminster other than such as shall be approved by some of his Majesty's council or the committee for disbanding the army, to depart from the said cities of London and Westminster, and not to return without our leave.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE TRIAL OF ARGYLL TO THE END OF 1662.

The Scotch Parliament summoned.

Mercurius Publicus, No. 46, p. 722.

Oct. 10, 1660.

His Majesty, out of his care of his ancient kingdom of Scotland, hath set forth a proclamation for calling of a Parliament of that kingdom.

Various proceedings of the Scotch Parliament.

Mercurius Publicus, No. 49, p. 783.

November 29, 1660.

By letters from Scotland, we understand how that kingdom is preparing for all such as have been disloyal to his Majesty, many whereof are already summoned to appear before the Committee of Estates, to whom also will be suddenly sent the marquis of Argyll and the Laird Swinton, of whom the two nations have heard too much.

Rugge's MS. Diary, vol. i., p. 227.

December, 1660.

The Lords (?) in Scotland ordered that the body of James, marquis of Montrose, to give it an honourable burial, for that he was unquestionably a true and faithful subject as ever was in Scotland.

Swinton and Argyll sent under guard to Scotland.

Rugge's MS. Diary, vol. i., p. 227.

December, 1660.

Laird Swinton [and] lord Argyll was sent to Scotland in a ship of forty guns, and a person of honour had the charge of them.

Swinton and Argyll arrive at Edinburgh.

Mercurius Publicus, No. 54, p. 846.

Thursday, Jan. 3, 1661.

The marquis of Argyll is in Edinburgh Castle (in the self-same chamber where the renowned Montrose was formerly lodged). He was set on shore at Leith on Sunday was sevennight, where the people (for joy they saw him prisoner) shot off their great guns, and at Edinburgh the bailiffs of the place, with two town companies, saw his lordship march on foot to the Castle, after which the Laird Swinton walked bareheaded into the Tolbooth.

Argyll is attainted of high treason.

From the Printed Charge, pubd. Feb. 18, 1661.

Jan. 23rd, 1661.

The charge of high treason, murders, oppressions,

Montrose.

and other crimes exhibited to the Parliament of Scotland against the marquis of Argyll and his complices.

Argyll imprisoned in the Tolbooth.

Mercurius Publicus, No. 21, 1661, p. 336.

Edinburgh, May 23, 1661.

Letters from Scotland say little more than that the Parliament, having weighty affairs under their consideration, spent the whole day in advising, and the marquis of Argyll being brought they ordered that they should no more return him to the Castle of Edinburgh (where he had hitherto been prisoner), to their common gaol, called the Tolbooth.

Argyll receives his sentence.

Mercurius Publicus, No. 22, 1661, p. 344.

Edinburgh.

Yesterday being Friday (May 24) the Parliament sat from eight of the clock in the morning till eight at night (twelve hours), where the marquis of Argyll being found guilty of high treason, there was great debate concerning the manner and time of his death. At last (which was about eight of the clock at night) he was brought from the Tolbooth to the House, and there received the sentence to be beheaded on Monday the 27th of this instant May, at two of the clock in the afternoon, his head to be set upon the west end of the Tolbooth, where the head of the glorious marquis of Montrose was set before, his posterity to be incapable of any puhlic trust, all his lands and goods to be confiscate to his Majestys' use.

Account of the death of Argyll.

Mercurius Publicus, No. 23, 1661, p. 358.

May 27, 1661.

By this time you expect some particulars of the death of that great peer of Scotland James, marquis of Argyll, of whose trial and condemnation we formerly told you. And (to do him right) we must confess his whole carriage all along his execution was as if it were true which some have confidently reported of him, that he has long known he should certainly be executed. For the night he was sentenced he supped as at other times. . . . . On Monday (the day of his execution) he eat a full meal, and soon after (which was about three in the afternoon) the bailiffs of Edinburgh sent their officer to let him know that his hour was more than past: whereupon he drank a glass of wine and came away, cocking his beaver more than usually. . . When he came near the Mercat Cross, where the scaffold was planted, he looked upon the maiden, so in Scotland they call the axe [*sic*], once or twice. . . . He looked several ways upon the people . . then prayed. . . His speech was short. . . When he had done speaking he took the paper wherein his speech was written and tore it into six pieces and gave it to six of his friends, and then (without more ado) he laid his head on the block, where at one blow his head was severed from his body.

Others executed in Scotland.

Mercurius Publicus, No. 23, p. 369.

Edinburgh, June 1, 1661.

Just now I came from the execution of Mr. James Guthrie, minister of Stirling, and captain Giffen.

Rebellion of the Anabaptists under Venner.

Reresby's Memoirs, Lond. 1735, pp. 8, 9

1661, Jan. 6.

As this time a small rebellion was raised in London by one Venner, which met the fate everybody knows, and their captain and about twenty more were hanged and quartered: about twenty of them were killed in their several skirmishes and about as many of the king's men.

Charles is crowned.

Bramston's Memoirs, Camden Soc., 1845, p. 118.

The coronation of the king, Charles the Second, . . . was the 23rd of April, 1661, St. George's Day.

The Houses appoint a day of thanksgiving for the coronation.

From a Proclamation of the Year.

April 26, 1661.

Resolved by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled that this day fortnight be the day set apart for a day of thanksgiving for both Houses of Parliament, and wtthin the cities of London and Westminster and late lines of communication, and this day month for the whole nation.

Writs issued for a new Parliament.

Kingdom's Intelligencer, No. 10, 1661, p. 160.

Westminster, March 1.

The respective writs for the peers and assistants of the House of Lords, and for the knights, citizens, burgesses, and barons of ports for this new Parliament, to convene (by the blessing of God) on the 8th of May next, were sealed this week.

The new Parliament assembles.

Mercurius Publicus, 1661, No. 18, p. 287.

This morning (May 8, the same day his Majesty was proclaimed this time twelve month, and the same day whereon (1641) those two bills, for execution of the earl of Strafford and for a perpetual Parliament, were refused by his late Majesty, as if nothing but good could pass upon that day) at seven in the morning, the duke of Ormond, Lord High Steward of his Majesty's household, came into the court of requests (a place anciently made use of for that purpose) and caused the oaths of supremacy and allegiance to be administered to the members of the House of Commons. . . And in the mean time his Majesty rode in great state with his peers in their robes to the Abbey Church at Westminster. . . . In the Abbey a learned sermon was preached before his Majesty . . . after which he went to the House of Peers, where, having ascended the chair of state, the gentleman usher of the black rod . . . was sent to the House of Commons to acquaint them therewith. . . And they coming to the House of Peers to receive his Majesty's pleasure, his Majesty

made a most gracious speech. . . And the House of Commons having his Majesty's license to choose their speaker . . . they returned to the House, where . . . they made choice of that worthy and knowing person Sir Edward Turner to be speaker, whose great modesty desiring to be excused did but heighten the desires of that House for him to undertake it, and thereupon he was led up to the chair . . . . after which . . . . the House adjourned.

A Test Act is passed.

From a Broadside ent. A vote of the Commons House of Parliament.

May 13th, 1661.

Resolved upon the question, that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper shall upon Sunday next come sevennight, being the six-and-twentieth day of this instant May in the forenoon, be administered at St. Margaret's Church in Westminister, according to the form prescribed in the Liturgy of the Church of England, and that all the members of this House shall then and there receive the said sacrament, and whosoever shall not then and there receive the said sacrament shall not after that day come into the House until he shall have received the said sacrament.

Venner and his associates have their heads mounted on London Bridge.

Rugge's MS. Diary, vol. i., p. 256.

The names of those who were hanged in London for the late rebellion by the fifth monarchy men.

Thomas Venner [here follows a list of thirteen].

Their heads set upon the gate on London Bridge.

Acts for the recall of the bishops to the House of Lords and for allowing a benevolence.

Letter from Andrew Marvell to the Mayor of Hull.

May 30, 1661.

Worthy Sir,—The news this day is the House hath given order that Mr. Solicitor bring in a bill to revoke the act against the bishops sitting in the Lords' House; and that Mr. Prynne bring in a bill enabling the king to grant commissions through the nation for receiving the free and voluntary contributions of his subjects for the present supply of his affairs.

Title of act for the recall of the bishops.

From the Printed Act, 2 xiii., Car. II.

An act for the repeal of an act of Parliament entitled "An act for disabling all persons in holy orders to exercise any temporal jurisdiction or authority."

The act passed for allowing a benevolence.

From the Printed Act, 4 xiii. Car. II.

An act for a free and voluntary present to his Majesty.

We, your Majesty's most loyal and obedient subjects the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, taking into consideration your Majesty's great and important occasions for a speedy supply of moneys, which can no ways be so speedily raised, as by a free and voluntary present to your Majesty, from those who are able and willing to aid your Majesty in this sudden emergency as a testimony of their affections to your Majesty, &c., &c.

The heads of the act.

From MS. notes of the period in the British Museum.

[1] The king may issue commissions to receive subscriptions and to collect the same.

[2] The receivers are to give their acquittance *sans* fee, their acquittance to be an absolute discharge.

[3] If subscriptions be returned in the exchequer, the payment must be so likewise.

[4] No process out of the exchequer but within two years.

[5] The commissioners' directions.

[6] None under a peer to exceed £200.

[7] No peer to exceed £400.

[8] No commissions to issue or continue after 24 June, 1662.

[9] No commissions of this nature can be issued or levied but by Parliament: this act to be no example for the future.

Its effects.

Pepys' Diary, ed. 1854, p. 213, vol. i

Aug. 31st, 1661.

The benevolence proves so little, and an occasion of so much discontent everywhere, that it had better it had never been set up. I think to subscribe £20

The husband of Charles' mistress, Barbara Palmer, née Villiers, is created earl of Castlemaine.

Pepys' Diary, ed. 1854, vol. i., p. 240.

Dec. 7, 1661.

To the Privy Seal, and sealed there: and among other things that passed there was a patent for Roger

Palmer, Madame Palmer's husband, to be earl of Castlemaine and baron of Limerick in Ireland; but the honour is tied up to the males got of the body of his wife, the lady Barbara; the reason whereof everybody knows.

Satire on Charles and lady Castlemaine.

Sir John Denham. Directions to a painter, 1667, p. 39.

Women have grossly snared the wisest prince
That ever was before or hath been since:
And Grannam Athaliah in that nation
Was a great hinderer of reformation.
Paint in a new piece, painted Jezebel;
Give 't to adorn the dining-room of Hell:
Hang by her others of the gang; for more
Deserve a place with Rosamond, Jane Shore.

etc.,

Death of Cardinal Mazarin.

Cook's Historian's Guide. London, 1679.

Feb. 27, 1661.

Cardinal Mazarine, that great minister of state in France, removed by death.

Rumours of Charles' marriage with Christina of Sweden.

Dr. Kirtou at Florence to Sir R. Verney, Jan. 27, 1652

Our great duke has news that our king shal marry the queen of Sweden.

Which however want confirmation.

The same to the same, Feb. 3, 1652

Mr. Hobbes is forbidden our English court a

Paris whence I have fresh letters, but no such news as the match with the queen of Sweden. . . . . our court as they write is very poor.

Various other rumours of Charles' marriage.

Letter from Stephen Charlton to Sir R. Leveson.

1661, Feb. 19, London.

It is not known where or on what design the earl of Bristol is gone . . . . . several reports about it . . . . upon a secret business which is somewhat dangerous to relate till the truth be known; the rumour of it is up and down the town, but very uncertain, neither do I believe it, and I hope it is not so that the king should be married before he came out of Flanders to a relation of the Prince de Ligne, and that the earl of Bristol is gone hither upon that account.

Letter from Andrew Newport to Sir R. Leveson.

1661, March 5, London.

There is now a treaty of marriage (or proposals at least) betwixt the king and the duke of Parma's daughter but 'tis not public yet.

Stephen Charlton to Sir R. Leveson.

1661, March 9, London.

The duke [ ] ambassador, has had an audience; some suppose it is about a match between his Majesty and the late prince of [Orange]'s sister, for this prince Maurice of Nassau is [nearly] related to her, and it is thought that the State have an interest in this embassy as well as [ ] of Brandenburg.

Andrew Newport to Sir R. Leveson.

1661, March 12, London.

The scene of marriage is varied again; the treaty with the duke of Parma being at an end, and they say that with Portugal renewed.

Charles receives his wife Catherine of Braganza at Portsmouth.

Reresby's Memoirs, London, 8, 1735, p. 9.

1662, May 19.

Now it was that the king went to receive the Infanta of Portugal at Portsmouth attended by the greatest court I ever saw in any progress. But though upon this occasion everything was gay and splendid, and profusely joyful, it was easy to discern that the king was not excessively charmed with his new bride, who was a very little woman with a pretty tolerable face.

Sir Harry Vane excepted from the Act of Parliament only as regards estate so early as 1660.

Mercurius Publicus, No. 24., 1660, p. 389.

Monday, June 11, at the House of Commons, resolved that Sir Henry Vane be one of the twenty to be excepted out of the general act of indemnity and oblivion, to suffer such pains, penalties, and forfeitures —not extending to life—as shall be thought fit to be inflicted by an act hereafter to be made for that purpose.

He is however tried and executed.

Pepys's Diary, vol. I., pp. 281, 288, 290., ed. 1854.

May 22, 1662.

This morning comes an order from the secretary of state, Nicholas, for me to let one Mr. Lee, a councellor, view what papers I have relating to passages of the late times, wherein Sir H. Vane's hand is employed, in order to the drawing up his charge; which I did.

June 7, 1662.

Sir J. Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, . . . says that yesterday . . . Sir H. Vane had a full [*sic*] hearing at the king's bench, and is found guilty; and that he did never hear a man argue more simply than he in all his life, and so others say.

June 14, 1662.

About eleven o'clock, having a room got ready for us, we all went out to the Tower-hill, and there over against the scaffold, made on purpose this day, saw Sir H. Vane brought. A very great press of people. He made a long speech, many times interrupted by the sheriff and others there; and they would have taken his paper out of his hand, but he would not let it go. But they caused all the books of those that writ after him [*i.e.* the reporters] to be given to the sheriff; and the trumpets were brought under the scaffold that he might not be heard. Then he prayed, and so fitted himself and received the blow.

June 18, 1662.

I hear the courage of Sir H. Vane at his death is talked on everywhere as a miracle.

Reasons why he should not have been put to death.

Burnet: Hist. of his own Times., Lond. 1724, fol., vol. 1., p. 163.

The putting Sir Henry Vane to death . . was . . much blamed: for the declaration from Breda being full for an indemnity to all, except the Regicides, he was comprehended in that; since though he was for changing the government, and deposing the king, yet he did not approve of the putting him to death, nor of the force put on the Parliament, but did for some time, while these things were acted, withdraw from the scene.

Sale of Dunkirk to the French.

Burnet: Hist. of his own Times, Lond., 1724, fol., vol. 1, p. 172.

1662.

The business then in agitation was concerning the sale of Dunkirk. The Spaniards pretended it ought to be restored to them, since it was taken from them by Cromwell, when they had the king and his brother in their armies: but this was not much regarded. The French pretended, that, by their agreement with Cromwell, he was only to hold it, till they had repaid the charge of the war: therefore they, offering to lay that down, ought to have the place delivered to them. The king was in no sort bound by this. So the matter under debate was, whether it ought to be kept or sold? The military men, who were believed to be corrupted by France, said, the place was not tenable; that in time of peace it would put the king to a great charge and in time of war it would not quit the cost of keeping it. The earl of Clarendon said, he under-

stood not those matters; but appealed to Monk's judgment, who did positively advise the letting it go for the sum that France offered . . . . . Schomberg advised that the king should keep it; . . . . and he was sure it could never be taken, as long as England was master of the sea. . . . . But he was singular in that opinion. So it was sold, and all the money that was paid for it was immediately squandered amongst the mistress's creatures.

The issue of Butler's Hudibras.

Pepys's Diary, ed. 1854.

Dec. 26, 1662.

To the wardrobe,—Hither come Mr. Battersby, and we falling into discourse of a new book of drollery in use, called Hudibras, I would needs go and find it out, and me with it at the Temple, cost me 2s. 6d. But when I come to read it it is so silly an abuse of the Presbyter knight going to the wars that I am ashamed of it, and by meeting at Mr. Townsend's at dinner, I sold it to him for 18d.

Ibid.

Nov. 28, 1663.

To Paul's Churchyard, and there looked upon the second part of Hudibras, which I buy not but borrow to read, to see if be as good as the first, which the world cried so mightily up, though it hath not a good liking to me, though I had tried but twice or three times reading to bring myself to think it witty.

Formation of the Royal Society, 1662.

Burnet: History of his own Times, Lond., 1724, fol., vol. i., pp. 192, 193.

The men that formed the Royal Society in London were Sir Robert Murray, the Lord Brouncker, a profound mathematician, and Dr. Ward, soon after promoted to Exeter, and afterwards removed to Salisbury. . . . . Many physicians and other ingenious men went into the society for natural philosophy. But he who laboured most, at the greatest charge, and with the most success at experiments, was Robert Boyle, the earl of Cork's youngest son. . . . . The Society for philosophy grew so considerably that they thought fit to take out a patent; which constituted them a body, by the name of the Royal Society of which Sir Robert Murray was the first President, Bishop Ward the second, and the Lord Brouncker the third, their history is writ . . . . by Dr. Sprat.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PLAGUE OF LONDON.
THE GREAT FIRE.
THE FIRST DUTCH WAR.
DISGRACE OF CLARENDON.

The Great Plague.

A dreadful plague in London was
In the year sixty-five,
Which swept a hundred thousand souls
Away—yet I alive.

Defoe: Journal of the Plague Year, 1835, p, 352.

Account of deaths from the Plague from the year 1664 to 1670.

From the returns made in the bills of mortality.

1664	6
1665	68,596
1666	1,998
1667	35
1668	14
1669	3
1670	0

Defoe's account of the Plague, Sept. 1664—June, 1665.

Defoe: Journal of the Plague Year, 1835 ed., pp. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 24.

It was about the middle of September, 1664, that I heard that the plague was returned again in Holland. . . The Government had a true account of it, and several councils were held about ways to prevent its coming over; but all was kept very private. Hence it was that this rumour died off again. . , till the latter end of November or beginning of December, 1664, when two men, said to be Frenchmen, died of the plague in Long Acre, or rather in the upper end of Drury Lane. . . The people showed a great concern at this, and began to be alarmed all over the town, and the more because in the last week in December, 1664, another man died in the same house and of the same distemper; and then we were easy for about six weeks . . . but after that, I think it was about the 12th of February, another died in another house, but in the same parish and in the same manner . . . and the weekly bills showing an increase of burials in St. Giles's parish more than usual, it began to be suspected that the plague was among the people. . . The usual number of burials within the bills of mortality for a week was from about 240 or thereabouts to 300. The last was esteemed a pretty high bill; but after this we found the bills successively increasing as follows:

	BURIED.
From Dec. 20 to Dec. 27	291
,, 27 ,, Jan. 3	349

Daniel Defoe.

		BURIED.
Jan. 3	to 10	394
,, 10	,, 17	415
,, 17	,, 24	474

This last bill was really frightful, being a larger number than had been known to have been buried in one week since the preceding visitation of 1636!

However, all this went off again, and, the weather proving cold . . . the bills decreased . . . and everybody began to look upon the danger as good as over . . . but it returned again, and the distemper spread into two or three other parishes. . . This was the beginning of May, yet the weather was temperate, variable, and cool enough, and people had still some hopes. . . We continued in these hopes for a few days, but it was but for a few, for . . . in the weekly bill next week the thing began to show itself. There was, indeed, but fourteen set down of the plague, but this was all knavery and collusion . . . and we took it for granted that there were fifty died that week of the plague. . . The second week in June the parish of St. Giles, where . . . the weight of the infection lay, buried 120, whereof, though the bills said but sixty-eight of the plague, everybody said there had been 100 at least, calculating it from the usual number of funerals in that parish. . . The court removed early, viz., in the month of June, and went to Oxford, where it pleased God to preserve them.

Duration of the Plague.

Boghurst's Λοιμογραφία MS. in the British Museum.

The plague . . . continued these eighteen months, viz., from the second of November, 1664, to the latter end of this May last past, 1666.

Principal symptoms of the Plague.

Boghurst's Λοιμογραφία, written at London, 1666.

Shuddering cold at first falling sick.

Heats and thirstiness.

A livid countenance inclining to black, also a frowning countenance.

Griping pains in the back, belly, shoulders, sides, hips, bones, and joints.

Spots appearing either coal black, dark blueish black, purple colours, clean blood red colour, scarlet colour.

Continual vomiting, which will not be stayed.

Strength of constitution no protection.

Boghurst's Λοιμογραφία, f. 22, *(a)*.

Strength of constitution of body was no protection against the disease, nor death, for it made the hottest assault upon strong bodies, and determined soonest, for they died sooner than people of weak constitution, and men died sooner than women.

Localities affected by the Plague.

Boghurst's Λοιμογραφία, f. 23, *(a)*.

The plague fell first upon the highest ground, for our parish is the highest ground about London and

the best air, yet was first infected, Highgate, Hampstead, and Acton also all shared in it.

Duration of the attack, &c.

Boghurst's Λοιμογραφία, f. 23 *(a b)*.

The plague is a most acute disease, for though some died in eight, ten, or twenty days after they had been sick, yet the greatest part died before five or six days, and in the summer about half that were sick died, but towards winter three parts in four lived, but none died suddenly, as stricken by lightning or an apoplexy.

Those that die of the plague die a very easy death . . . . first because it is speedy, [and] secondly because they die without convulsions.

Defoe's further account of the Plague.

Journal of the Plague Year, ed. 1835, pp. 62, 63, 73, 146, 148.

About June the lord mayor of London and the court of aldermen . . . . began more particularly to concern themselves for the regulation of the city.

The justices of the peace for Middlesex, by direction of the secretary of State, had begun to shut up houses in the parish of St. Giles'-in-the-Fields, St. Martin, St. Clement Danes, &c., and it was with good success, for in several streets where the plague broke out, upon strict guarding the houses that were infected and taking care to bury those that died immediately after they were known to be dead, the plague ceased in those streets. It was also observed

that the plague decreased sooner in those parishes than it did in the parishes of Bishopsgate, Shoreditch, Aldgate, Whitechapel, Stepney, and others, the early care taken in that manner being a great means to putting a check to it. . . This shutting up of houses was at first counted a very cruel and unchristian method, and the poor people so confined made bitter lamentations. Complaints of the severity of it were also daily brought to my lord mayor of houses causelessly (and some maliciously) shut up. . . . One of the worst days we had in the whole time, as I thought, was in the beginning of September, when, indeed, good people began to think that God was resolved to make a full end of the people in this miserable city. This was at that time when the plague was fully come into the eastern parishes. The parish of Aldgate, if I may give my opinion, buried above a thousand a week for two weeks, though the bills did not say so many; but it surrounded me at so dismal a rate that there was not a house in twenty uninfected. In the Minories, in Houndsditch, and in those parts of Aldgate parish about Butcher Row and the alleys over against me, I say in those places, death reigned in every corner. Whitechapel parish was in the same condition, and though much less than the parish I lived in, yet buried near six hundred a week by the bills, and in my opinion near twice as many. Whole families, and, indeed, whole streets of families were swept away together; insomuch, that it was frequent for neighbours to call to the bellman to go to such and such

houses and fetch out the people, for that they were all dead. . . . I suppose the world has heard of the famous Solomon Eagle, an enthusiast; he, though not affected at all but in the head, went about denouncing of judgment upon the city in a frightful manner, sometimes quite naked and with a pan of burning charcoal on his head.

Clarendon's excuse for the first Dutch war.

Clarendon's Hist. of the Reign of Charles II., 4to, 1755, vol. i., p. 477.

De Ruyter had been sent into the Mediterranean . . . against the pirates of Algiers . . . the ambassador had desired the king that his Majesty's fleet, that was then in those parts, might upon all occasions join with De Ruyter when opportunity should be offered thereby to infest the Turks, which the king consented to, and sent orders accordingly; but the Dutch had no such purpose; his business was to ransom the captives with money, and not to exact the delivery of them by force, and to make an accommodation for the time to come as well as he could, and when the English fleet was at any time in pursuit of the Algerines and expected that the Dutch, by whom they must pass, would have given a little stop to their flight, which they easily might have done, they rather assisted than obstructed their escape, and having made a very dishonourable peace with the pirates, he made haste . . . for the coast of Guinea. As soon as the king knew of the impudent affront and that De Ruyter was, in truth,

gone out of the Mediterranean, he though he might justly seize upon any ships of theirs to satisfy the damage that he could not but sustain by De Ruyter in Guinea.

Letters of reprisal granted against the Dutch.

Crook's Historian's Guide, Lond., 1679.

Dec. 16, 1664.

An order of council giving letters of reprisal against the Dutch.

How the letters of reprisal were carried out.

Clarendon's Hist. of Charles II., vol. i., pp. 477, 478.

It being the season of year that the Dutch fleet returned with their wines from Bordeaux, Rochelle, and other parts of France, such of them as were forced by the weather to put into . . . English harbours were seized upon, and the duke of York having put himself on board with a fleet of about fifty sail, upon the report of the Dutch being come out to defend theirs, took many others, even upon their own coasts.

Undoubted intelligence arrived in a very short time after that De Ruyter had declared and begun the war upon the coast of Africa . . . by seizing upon several English ships in those parts, and by assaulting and taking his Majesty's forts and places, &c., &c.

A commission appointed to estimate the money necessary for a war.

Ibid., vol. i., pp. 479, *et seq.*

There was now no remedy . . . there was

nothing to be done but resort to the Parliament . . . a fleet must be prepared equal to what the Dutch would infallibly make ready against the Spring and worthy the presence of the duke of York, who was impatient to engage his own person in the conduct of it . . . Very notable preparations for war . . . could not be done without ready-money . . . and now the king commanded the chancellor and the treasurer to meet with those members of the House of Commons with whom they had used to consult, and . . . they concluded that a less sum than two millions and a half . . . ought not to be proposed, and being once proposed, ought to be insisted on and pursued without consenting to any diminution.

The money required is voted.

Crook's Historian's Guide, Lond., 1679.

Nov. 25, 1664.

The honourable House of Commons voted his Majesty a supply of £2,500,000 sterling.

War is proclaimed.

Ibid.

March 2, 1665.

War proclaimed against the Dutch.

Progress of the war.

Ibid.

April 20, 1665.

De Ruyter attempted the Barbadoes with his fleet, but beaten off.

Coke: Detection of the Court and State. London, 1694.

Though this war was . . . hastily begun, yet was it managed more carelessly and prodigally than any ever was before. . . .

The king in the first year of the war was forced, in the dead of winter, to send Sir John Harrison to Gostenberg with a squadron of men-of-war for masts, pitch and tar, where, by reason of the coldness of the season, some of the ships were frozen up . . . yet all agreed, if the king had not been supplied with naval stores by this fleet, he could not have fitted out a fleet next year.

. . . Sir Thomas Allen opened the first sea campaign by falling upon the Dutch Smyrna fleet, and took four of them richly laden.

Victory over the Dutch.

Pepys' Diary, ed. 1854, vol. ii., p. 243.

June 3, 1665.

This day they engaged: the Dutch neglecting greatly the opportunity of the wind they had of us, by which they lost the benefit of their fire ships. . . Admiral Opdam blown up, Trump [Van Tromp] killed, and said by Holmes; all the rest of their admirals as they say but Everson, whom they dare not trust for his affection to the Prince of Orange, are killed: we have taken and sunk, as is believed, about twenty-four of their best ships; killed and taken near eight or ten thousand men, and lost we think not above seven hundred. A greater victory never known

in the world. They are all fled; some forty-three got into the Texel and others elsewhere, and we in pursuit of the rest.

Parliament vote Supply.

Crook's Historian's Guide.

Oct. 11, 1665.

The Parliament voted to his Majesty an additional supply of £1,250,000.

France proclaims war against England.

Ibid.

Jan. 14, 1666.

The French king set out his declaration of war against England.

The War continued.

Ibid.

Aug. 7, 1666.

The memorable action of Sir Robert Holmes in burning and destroying above 150 sail of Dutch ships in the Fly, most of them richly laden. As also the town of Bandaris upon the island of Schelling, containing at least one thousand houses.

The Great Fire.

Letter from Sir Edward Atkyns to his brother Sir Peter Atkyns.

Lincoln's Inn, Sept. 8, 1666.

I received your letter, and shall give you the best account I can of our late sad fire, though it is scarcely possible for any man fully to describe it. It began in a baker's house in Pudding Lane, near Thames

Street, on Sunday morning, about two or three of the clock, and burnt down several houses, but could not be quenched, in regard it was a narrow place where the engines could not play, and the Lord Mayor did not think fit to pull down any houses to prevent the further spreading of the fire. About ten of the clock whilst we were at church there was a cry in the streets that the Dutch and French were in arms, and had fired the city, and thereupon the ministers dismissed their several congregations, but we that were so remote thought little of it. In the afternoon I went into the Temple Garden, where I saw it had made an unhappy progress, and had consumed towards the Thames side many houses and two or three churches, as Lawrence Pountney church, which I saw strangely fired, and other churches, and at last growing somewhat violent and meeting with many wharfs, and the wind being high, it grew very formidable, and we began to think of its nearer approach. By Monday morning it had burnt all Thames Street, New Fish Street, and some part of Cannon Street, and thereupon the citizens began to neglect the fire and to secure their goods, and in fine and to be short, by Wednesday evening it had burnt all the city. Yesterday I went from St. Dunstan's Church to Bishopsgate Street, and there is not one house standing betwixt those places; there are only, within the wall, but part of these three streets remaining, viz., part of Leadenhall Street, Basinghall and Bishopsgate Street, all the rest burnt to the ground, and not so much as a considerable piece of timber,

as I could see, secured from the fire. It is impossible almost to conceive the total destruction; all the churches burnt, nay, some of the churches as Bow Church . . . have not so much as the walls standing. All the halls, as Guildhall, Merchant Taylors' Hall, Mercers' Chapel, Old Exchange, burnt down to the ground, so that you can hardly tell where such a parish or place was. I can say but this, that there is nothing but stones and rubbish, and all exposed to the open air. So that you may see from one end of the city almost to the other. St. Paul's Church the very stones are crumbled and broken to shivers . . . and you can compare London (were it not for the rubbish) to nothing more than an open field. The citizens were forced to remove their goods into the open fields, and £10 a cart was now demanded to carry away the goods. The Inner Temple almost burnt and pulled down, except the Temple Church, the Hall much defaced, and the Exchequer Office, Serjeant's Inn in Fleet Street, and all to St. Dunstan's Church, and so on the other side of Holborn Bridge. The king and duke of York were exceedingly active, or otherwise I doubt that the suburbs had undergone the same calamity: some have conceived that it was a plot, but most and the king himself believe that it was only the hand of God. The king comforts the citizens with the rebuilding of the city, but God knows when that will be; the Exchange is now kept at Gresham College, where I heard yesterday there was a full exchange of merchants. . . Chancery Lane is yet standing

except the St. John's Head near Lincoln's Inn, which was pulled down, by way of prevention, and another house towards Holborn. . . Houses are now at an excessive rate. . . I believe the danger is well over, only we have frequent false alarms of fire, sometimes in one place, and then in another; it now burns only in cellars and warehouses, where either coals, spirits, or other combustible matters were lodged.

Another account of the Fire, how it got such firm hold.

Narrative of the late Fire in London. *Edw. Waterhouse*, Lond., 1667.

The time when it began . . . was about three of the clock on a Sunday morning, a time when most persons, especially of the poorer sort, were but newly in bed and in their first deep sleep. . . The . . place wherein it first began . . was Pudding Lane . . . this little pitiful lane, crowded behind Little Eastcheap on the west, St. Botolph's Lane on the east, and Thames Street on the south of it was the place where the fire originated, and that forwarded by a baker's stack of wood in the house, and by all the neighbouring houses, which were as so many matches to kindle and carry it on . . . thus the fire meeting with the Star Inn on Fish Street Hill on the back of it, and that inn full of hay and other combustibles, and with the houses opposite to it, and closed with it at the top, burned three ways at once, into Thames Street (the lodge of all combustibles,

oil, hemp, flax, pitch, tar, cordage, hops, wines, brandies, and other materials favourable to fire, all heavy goods being warehoused there near the water side) . . . and in all this savage progress met with no opposition from engines or other artifices . . . There being no rain of a long time before the fire, and both the springs low and the waterworks at the Bridgefoot which carried water into that part of the city burnt down the first day of the fire . . . This . . . fire took into its possession 81 parish churches and at least six or seven chapels and other churches answerable to them, amongst which the famous cathedral of St. Paul was one, so incinerating the glory and emasculating the vigour and firmness of them that the standing walls are (for the most part) unable to bear new roofs, the sturdy supporters of them being enervated, the monuments in them burnt to powder, the bells in the steeples melted, the vaults underneath pierced, the stones of the outside so scaled as if the fire was greedy to eat out all firmness in them.

Flagellum Dei. London, 1668.

In three days and three nights, of about four hundred and sixty acres of ground on which the city of London stood it destroyed three hundred and fifty, which is at the rate of four parts in five, it consumed about twelve thousand houses, eighty-seven parish churches, besides six or seven consecrated chapels, and the magnificent cathedral church of St. Paul's, the public and most excellent buildings of the Exchange, Guildhall, Customhouse, and almost all the

halls belonging to every private company, besides an innumerable quantity of goods of all sorts.

Supply voted and War declared against Denmark.

Crook's Historian's Guide.

Oct. 12, 1666.

Parliament voted another supply to his Majesty of eighteen hundred thousand pounds sterling.

Oct. 19, 1666.

War declared against the king of Denmark.

Nov. 8, 1666.

The Vice-admiral of Denmark, a ship of fifty-two guns, was taken by some of his Majesty's frigates on the coast of Scotland.

Reminiscences of the Fire.

Pepys' Diary, ed. 1854, vol. iii., p. 76.

Feb. 28, 1667.

I did within these three days see smoke still remaining of the late fire in the city.

Crook's Historian's Guide. Lond., 1679, p. 71.

Feb. 8, 1667.

This day his Majesty went down to the House of Peers, and was graciously pleased to pass amongst others . . . an act for the rebuilding of London.

The Dutch attempt Burntisland.

Ibid.

April 30, 1667.

Several squadrons of Dutch ships attempting Burntisland in Scotland, but beaten off with loss.

The Dutch burn Sheerness and sail up the Thames.

Clarendon's Hist. of Charles II., vol. ii., pp. 339, *et seq.*

About the beginning of June De Ruyter came with the fleet out of the Weelings, and, joining with the rest from the Texel, sailed from the coast of England, and having a fair wind, stood for the river of Thames. . . There had been much discourse all that year of erecting a fort at Sheerness for the defence of the river, and the king had made two journeys thither in the winter, and had given such orders to the commissioners of the ordnance for the overseeing and finishing the fortification that everybody believed the work done . . . but whatever had been thought or directed, very little had been done; there were a company or two of very good soldiers there under excellent officers, but the fortifications so weak and unfinished, and all other provisions so entirely wanting that the Dutch fleet no sooner approached within a distance, but with their cannon they beat all their works flat and drove the men from the ground. . . There was indeed no danger of their landing, and they were too wise to think of it, their business was an element they had more confidence in and more power upon, they had good intelligence how loosely all things were left in the river, and therefore as soon as the tide came to help them they stood full up the river without any consideration of the chain [which had been placed across the river], which their ships immediately broke in pieces and broke without the least pause. . . There were two or three ships of the royal navy

negligently, if not treacherously, left in the river which might have been very easily drawn into safety, and could be of no imaginable use in the place where they then were; . . . all those ships and some merchantmen laden and ready to put to sea were presently in a flame; the Dutch, knowing that they could not carry them off, giving order to burn them . . . but they thought they had done enough, and . . . made use of the ebb to carry them back again.

Denham's satire on the Dutch victory.

Sir J. Denham: Directions to a Painter. Lond., 1667.

Here, painter, let thine art describe a story
Shaming our warlike island's ancient glory:
A scene which never on our seas appeared,
Since our first ships were on the ocean steered;
Make the Dutch fleet, while we supinely sleep,
Without opposers, masters of the deep:
Make them securely the Thames' mouth invade,
At once depriving us of that and trade:
Draw thunder from their floating castles, sent
Against our forts, weak as our government:
Draw Woolwich, Deptford, London, and the Tower
Meanly abandoned to a foreign power.

Peace concluded at Breda.

Crook's Historian's Guide.

June 29, 1667.

Peace concluded at Breda by his Majesty with France, Denmark, and the States-General.

End of the First Dutch War.

Ibid.

Aug. 24, 1667.

Peace with the States-General, France and Denmark was this day proclaimed at London and Westminster.

The disgrace of Clarendon.

Ibid.

Aug. 31, 1667.

His Majesty having taken the great seal of England from the earl of Clarendon, the late Lord Chancellor, was pleased this day to give it to Sir Orlando Bridgeman, with the title of Lord Keeper.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE FALL OF CLARENDON TO THE BREAK-UP OF THE CABAL.

Characters of important personages at the court of Charles II.

The King.

Sir James Denham : Directions to a painter, 1667, *in fin.*

Quæ sequuntur, in limine thalami regii, a nescioquo nebulone scripta, reperibantur.

Bella fugis, bellas sequeris, belloque repugnas
Et bellatori, sunt tibi bella thori
Imbelles imbelliæ amas, audaxque videris
Mars ad opus Veneris, Martis adarma venus.

Anthony Hamilton : Mémoires de Gramont, translated.

The king did not fall short of any of his subjects either in figure or air. His character was agreeable, his temper easy and affable. His soul, susceptible of opposite impressions, was compassionate to the unhappy, relentless to the wicked, and tender to excess. He was able when pressing affairs called for capacity, when the affairs were not pressing he could apply himself no longer. His heart was often the dupe but more often the slave of his engagements.

Royal resolutions.

Andrew Marvell. Grosart's ed. 1872, vol. I., p. 431.

When plate was at pawn, and fob at an ebb
And spider might weave in bowels a web,
And stomach as empty as brain ;
Then Charles without acre
Did swear by his maker,
If e'er I see England again
I'll have a religion all of my own
Whether Popish or Protestant shall not be known :
And if it prove troublesome I will have none.

The Duke of York.

Anthony Hamilton : Mémoires de Gramont, translated.

The duke of York was very different [from the king] in character. He had a reputation for undaunted courage ; a religious observance of his word ; economy in his affairs ; application, haughtiness and pride each in their turn. A scrupulous observer of the ties of duty and the laws of justice ; he was counted a faithful friend, and an implacable enemy.

His morality and justice for some time struggling with his convenience, had at last triumphed, when he acknowledged as his wife Miss Hyde, maid of honour to the Princess Royal, whom he had secretly married in Holland. Her father, from that time Prime Minister of England, supported by this new alliance, soon saw himself at the head of affairs and had almost ruined them. He wanted not capacity : but he had more presumption.

James, Duke of York,
afterwards
James II.

The Duke of York's love for the Irish (Papists).

Pepys's Diary, ed. 1854, vol. ii., p. 191.

Dec. 15, 1664.

It is strange how the duke also do love naturally, and affect the Irish above the English. He, of the company he carried with him to sea, took above two-thirds Irish and French.

The Duke of Ormond.

Ibid.

The duke of Ormond possessed both the confidence and esteem of his master. He deserved it not only by his great services but by the splendour of his birth and of his merit, and by the great sacrifices which he had made to follow the fortunes of Charles II. Even courtiers dared not to murmur when they saw him steward of the royal household, first gentleman of the bedchamber, and Viceroy of Ireland.

Colepepper.

Clarendon's Hist. of the Reign of Charles II., vol. i., p. 6, ed. 1755.

The lord Colepepper was a man of great parts, a very sharp and present wit, and a universal understanding, so that few men filled a place in council with more sufficiency, or expressed themselves on any subject that occurred with more weight and vigour. He had been trusted by the late king (who had a singular opinion of his courage and his other abilities) to wait upon the prince when he left his father: and continued still afterwards with him, or in his service, and in good correspondence with the chancellor.

Nicholas.

Ibid.

Secretary Nicholas was a man of general good reputation with all men, of unquestionable integrity, long experience in the service of the Crown, whom the late king trusted as much as any man to his death. He was one of those who were excepted by the Parliament from pardon or composition, and so was compelled to leave the kingdom, shortly after Oxford was delivered up, when the king was in the hands of the Scots. The present king continued him in the office of secretary of State, which he had so long held under his father. He was a man of great gravity, and without any ambitious or private designs, and had so fast a friendship with the chancellor that he was very well content and without any jealousy for his making many despatches and other transactions, which more immediately related to his office, and which were indeed always made with his privity and concurrence.

Buckingham and St. Albans.

Hamilton : Mémoires de Gramont, trans.

The duke of Buckingham and the earl of St. Albans were in England what they were in France : the one spirited and fiery, dissipated without *éclat* the immense wealth which he had inherited : the other but of middling genius had risen from penury to the enjoyment of a considerable fortune which seemed to augment the more he lost at the gaming table and the more extravagant his banquets.

The King's fondness of his natural children, his dislike for the Queen.

The Cabal is foreshadowed as early as 1664.

Pepys's Diary.

Feb. 22, 1664.

This evening came Mr. Allsopp, the king's brewer, with whom I spent an hour talking and bewailing the posture of things at present; the king led away by half a dozen men, that none of his serious servants and friends can come at him. There are Lauderdale, Buckingham, Hamilton, Fitz-Harding, to whom he hath, it seems, given £12,000 per annum in the best part of the king's estate; and that the old duke of Buckingham could never get of the king. Progers [the king's *valet de chambre*] is another, and Sir H. Bennett [afterwards lord Arlington]. He loves not the queen at all but is rather sullen to her; and she by all reports incapable of children. He is so fond of the duke of Monmouth that everybody admires [*i.e.* wonders at] it; and he says that the duke hath said that he would be the death of any man that says the king was not married to his mother [Lucy Walters]; though Allsopp says it is well known that she was a common strumpet before the king was acquainted with her. But it seems he says that the king is mighty fond of these bastard children; and at this day will go at midnight to my lady Castlemaine's nurses, and take the child and dance it in his arms.

Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury.

Dryden : Absalom and Achitophel.

In friendship false, implacable in hate,
Resolved to ruin or to rule the state;
To compass this the triple bond he broke,
The pillars of the public safety shook,
And fitted Israel for a foreign yoke;
Then seized with fear, yet still affecting fame,
Usurped a patriot's all-atoning name.

Dryden : The Medal.

Behold him now exalted into trust;
His counsels oft convenient, seldom just.
E'en in the most sincere advice he gave,
He had a grudging still to be a knave.
The frauds he learnt in his fanatic years
Made him uneasy in his lawful gears:
At best as little honest as he could:
And like white witches mischievously good,
To his first bias longingly he leans,
And rather would be great by wicked means.
Thus framed for ill he loosed our triple hold;
(Advice unsafe, precipitate, and bold);
From hence those tears; that Ilium of our woe:
Who helps a powerful friend, forearms a foe,
What wonder if the waves prevail so far,
When he cut down the banks that made the bar;
Seas follow but their nature to invade;
But he, by art, our native strength betrayed.

Further particulars of Clarendon's disgrace. Character of Buckingham.

Reresby: Memoirs, ed. 1735, p. 14.

June 1, 1667.

My lord Southampton, Lord High Treasurer of England, being lately dead, the administration of that great office was transacted by four commissioners: the duke of Albemarle, lord Ashley Cooper (afterwards earl of Shaftesbury), Sir William Coventry (secretary to the duke of York), and Sir John Duncomb. It was now that the Parliament fell upon the great earl of Clarendon, who, having surrendered the seals a few months afterwards, as much as possible to avoid the heat of his enemies, retired privately into France. His greatest enemy in the House of Lords was the duke of Buckingham; in the House of Commons, Sir Thomas Osborne, since earl of Danby; by this step, and by the help of his grace the duke of Buckingham, who was now absolute favourite, it was that Sir Thomas more especially rose to the height of his dignity.

The duke of Buckingham now acted as Prime Minister. The king consulted him chiefly in all concerns of moment; the foreign ministers were to apply to him before they could be admitted to an audience. But he was such a foe to business, such a friend to pleasure, and so apt to turn the day into night and the night into day, that he could neither attend regularly on the king, nor dispatch business, as it ought to be, with those who had anything to negotiate with him; so his ministry proved of no long duration.

1668.—Attempts to get rid of the Queen.

Burnet: Hist. of his own Times, Oxford, 1823, vol. i, p. 452.

The duke of Buckingham pressed the king to own a marriage with the duke of Monmouth's mother [Lucy Walters] and he undertook to get witnesses to attest it. The duke of York told me, in general, that there was much talk about it; but he did not descend to particulars. The earl of Carlisle offered to begin the matter in the House of Lords. The king would not consent to this; yet he put it in such a manner as made them all conclude that he wished it might be done, but he did not know how to bring it about. These discourses were all carried to the duke of Monmouth, and got fatally into his head. When the duke talked of this matter to me, in the year seventy-three, I asked him if he thought the king had still the same inclinations? He said he believed not: he thought the duke of Monmouth had not spirit enough to think of it; and he commended the duchess of Monmouth so highly as to say to me that the hopes of a crown could not work on her to do an unjust thing. I thought he gave that matter too much countenance, by calling the duke of Monmouth nephew; but he said it pleased the king. When the party saw they could make nothing of the business of the duke of Monmouth, they tried next by what methods they could get rid of the queen; that so the king might marry another wife, for the king had children by so many different creatures, that they hoped for issue if he had a wife capable of any. Some thought the queen

and he were not legally married; but the avowing of a marriage, and the living many years in that state did certainly supply any defect in point of form. Others pretended she was barren from a natural cause. . . . But the king often said he was sure she had once miscarried. This, though not overthrown by such an evidence, could never be proved; unless the having no children was to be concluded barrenness: and the dissolving a marriage on such an account could neither be justified in law nor conscience. Other stories were given out of the queen's person, which were false: for I saw in a letter under the king's own hand, that the marriage was consummated. Others talked of polygamy: and officious persons were ready to thrust themselves into anything that would contribute to their advancement. . . . . All such propositions would throw us into great convulsions; and entail war upon us if any issue came from a marriage so grounded.

Dissoluteness of the court.

Ibid, p. 455.

1668.—At this time the court fell into much extravagance in masquerading; both king and queen, and all the court went about masked, and came into houses unknown and danced there with a great deal of wild frolic. In this all people were so disguised that without being on the secret none could distinguish them. They were carried about in hackney chairs. Once the queen's chairmen, not knowing who she was, went from her: so she was alone and

was much disturbed, and came to Whitehall in a hackney coach: some say it was in a cart. The duke of Buckingham proposed to the king that he would give him leave to steal her away, and send her to a plantation where she should be well and carefully looked to, but never heard of any more; so it should be given out she had deserted; and upon that it would fall in with some principles to carry an act for a divorce, grounded upon the pretext of a wilful desertion. Sir Robert Murray told me, that the king himself rejected this with horror. He said it was a wicked thing to make a poor lady miserable, only because she was his wife and had no children by him, which was no fault of hers. The hints of this broke out: for the duke of Buckingham could conceal nothing. And upon that the earl of Manchester, then Lord Chamberlain, told the queen, it was neither decent nor safe for her to go about in such a manner as she had done of late: so she gave it over. But at last all these schemes settled in a proposition, into which the king went; which was to deal with the queen's confessor that he might persuade her to leave the world and to turn religious; upon which the parliament would have been easily prevailed on to pass a divorce. It was believed that upon this the duchess of York sent an express to Rome with the notice of her conversion; and that orders were sent from Rome to all about the queen to persuade her against such a proposition, if any should suggest it to her. She herself had no mind to be a nun, and the duchess was afraid of seeing another queen: and the

Nell Gwynne.

mistress, created at that time duchess of Cleveland, knew that she must be the first sacrifice to a beloved queen; and she reconciled herself upon this to the duchess of York.

The King's Mistresses.

Ibid, continued.

The duke of Buckingham upon that broke with her and studied to take the kingdom from her by new amours; and because he thought a gaiety of humour would take much with the king, he engaged him to entertain two players, one after another, Davies and Gywnne. The first did not keep her hold long; but Gwynne, the indiscreetest and wildest creature that ever was in a court, continued to the end of the king's life in great favour, and was maintained at a vast expense. The duke of Buckingham told me that when she was first brought to the king, she asked only five hundred pounds a year and the king refused it. But, when he told me this about four years after, he said she had got of the king above sixty thousand pounds. She acted all persons in so lively a manner and was such a constant diversion to the king, that even a new mistress could not drive her away. . . . The king had another mistress that was managed by lord Shaftesbury, who was the daughter of a clergyman, Roberts; in whom her first education had so deep a root, though she fell into many scandalous disorders, with very dismal adventures in them all, yet a principle of religion was so deep laid in her, that though it did not restrain her,

yet it kept alive in her a constant horror of sin that she was never easy in an ill course and died with a great sense of her former ill life. The duchess of Cleveland, finding that she had lost the king, abandoned herself to great disorders, one of which, by the artifice of the duke of Buckingham, was discovered by the king in person, the party concerned [John Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough,] leaping out of the window.

1669.—The Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford opened.

Crook's Historian's Guide, ed. 1690.

July 9, 1669.

This day the University of Oxford, with great solemnity, took the possession of that magnificent structure, the new theatre, being the benefaction of his grace Gilbert Sheldon, lord archbishop of Canterbury.

Deaths of the Duke and Duchess of Albemarle.

Ibid.

Jan. 4, 1670.

This day died at his apartment in the Cockpit, the duke of Albemarle, captain general of his Majesty's forces. The sad news of which being brought, together with the garter, his Majesty, to express the great value he had for the memory and incomparable merits of that great person, was pleased to return the garter to his son, the earl of Torrington, now duke of Albemarle, and to declare, that he should succeed his father in gentleman of the bed-

chamber and of the lord lieutenant of the county of Devon. And that as the last mark of his Majesty's gratitude to the memory of the deceased, his Majesty would himself take care for his funeral to be celebrated with a solemnity, such as might become the glorious things he did in the service of the Crown.

Jan. 23, 1670.

Died at the Cockpit, the duchess of Albemarle.

1670.—The King's sister, the Princess Henrietta of Orleans, is sent over by Louis XIV. to persuade Charles to a second war with the Dutch, and other matters of importance.

Secret Hist. of Whitehall, 1717, vol i., p. 45, et seq.

The French Court having . . . . . gained the duke of Buckingham entirely to their interests, they began now to conceive some hopes to bring our king to join with them against the States, at least with his naval power, of which they had most need; and therefore to strike while the iron was hot they deliberated of sending over an ambassador of their own into England to negotiate the matter: but to colour the intrigue as if they had no design of their own thereby, and to give no matter of jealousy to their neighbours, especially the United Provinces, it was agreed it should be a female ambassadress, the king's fair sister Henrietta Maria, duchess of Orleans, and so give out at the same time she went over purely on a visit to her royal brothers; and that it was with some seeming reluctancy the French king

upon her earnest application to him to that purpose gave his consent. But she was furnished with such proposals which they knew well that sent her none could with equal safety and privacy advance, nor none with equal power and influence recommend. And to secure the whole transaction from the very suspicion as well as penetration of any not of their cabal, and to make it appear a pure visit and the effect of natural affection and void of all intrigue, her return was limited to so short a time and in so peremptory and notorious a manner that it might induce the world to believe them too suspicious of the natural inclinations that the princess might still retain for her royal brothers, and for the wealth of her and their native country, so incompatible with the exorbitant grandeur of France, to entrust her with any of the mysterious *arcana* of their politics; and so might prevent all jealousy in England, at that critical juncture of that interview, by showing so great an apprehension of it themselves. She was charged with the same message partly, and with some of the same arguments, which they had endeavoured to insinuate by the duke of Buckingham: but having an incomparable advantage above him, or any other ambassador to back whatsoever she advanced with all the charms that a most accomplished and lovely princess, as an only and most beloved sister, could be armed with; she who had wit and dexterity enough to manage those privileges to the utmost advantage, not only pressed the said matter more home and with infinitely more freedom and efficacy,

but adventured to propose yet higher things, and of a much more extended consequence. For addressing her speech to the king (though not without intermixing some expressions equally affecting also to her brother the duke of York) she told his Majesty, that as she hoped neither of her royal brothers had any reason to call in question her natural affection to their persons, so she believed they had as little cause to doubt but she could see as far as another into the French monarch's heart, who loved her and admired her to that degree, though innocently, as gave no small umbrage to Monsieur his brother and her husband; and that she did sincerely represent both as his most Christian Majesty's sense and her own that the only way to secure to his Majesty and the present Royal Family of England a stability in the throne they were lately restored to, after so dismal an overthrow of the monarchy, in the reign and person of their unhappy father, and to reinstate the majesty of the British kings in its former splendour and security enjoyed so long and gloriously in Catholic times, was by all wise and politic means to labour to introduce into these kingdoms the Catholic religion and to reassume by degrees absolute power. For that the Church of England by woeful experience had been found too weak alone to defend the Crown, and that the dissenters were so stiffly principled for a commonwealth, that they would never leave till they had once more overturned the monarchy unless his Majesty would timely provide for his security by methods to be proposed to him by her and the most

Christian king who she knew had the utmost tenderness for his interest, as was clear enough by all expressions of his real inclinations, since they were emancipated from the restraints laid upon them under the tutelage of a cardinal who was a master in pure politics, and altogether unacquainted with those nobler and more heroic sentiments of honour and generosity which are no less natural and inextinguishable in a born prince than common reason is in the rest of mankind. The chief of which expedients were flattering of the Church of England, and first persecuting by Act of Parliament the Protestant dissenters and wheedling with them again by a prerogative lenative; and so by the not to be questioned acceptance of the suffering Protestants on the one hand and the no less assured non-opposition of those of the Established Church on the other, as by an irresistible charm to lay asleep that watchful dragon that had so long kept the golden apples of contention between the king and people from the ravishment of the most enterprising monarch and break that mischievous devil that had of late been so busy in asserting pretended liberties, and advance the sovereignty of old hateful laws above the more sacred majesty of the princes, the only rightful legislators, whilst the Crown as securely as unregardedly might seize and, seizing for all perpetuity, appropriate as to itself the important jewel of dispensing power, which would fix and fasten the whole chaplet of unbounded sovereignty by making use of that popular relaxation, to indulge the faction esteemed the most

dangerous to the monarchy and to decoy them into a favouring of those encroachments upon the laws and upon the people's fundamental rights, and therein the legislation, who seemed of all men the most deeply principled against them, and so in effect to make those very persons the tools for the erection of absolute and despotic sway who otherwise could hardly be reconciled to the most just, most legal, and most moderate Royalty. So far were the measures to be observed at home, and those which she and their brother of France advised to be used abroad, were—

1. To endeavour by all possible means the subversion of the Republic of Holland, the perpetual source of rebellion in England.

2. In order with so much the more expedition, certainty, and safety to effect the reduction both of his own people and of that untoward neighbouring nest and receptacle of plotters and rebels, to resolve upon a firm and inviolable adherence to the interests of the most Christian king, who in that case would no way desert him, but vigorously and powerfully aid him, and carry him through all difficulties. But in case, added she, his Majesty could not satisfy his conscience well enough to attempt any such change in religion (as she just now had mentioned) or notwithstanding all remonstrances to the contrary should continue over-persuaded of the too great difficulty or impracticableness of such an enterprise; that however as a Protestant of the Church of England, which was firm to monarchy, if he desired to put himself

into a condition to protect that, and that reciprocally to defend him and his successors in time to come, it would be absolutely necessary for him at least to concur with his most Christian Majesty in subduing the Republic of Holland. That besides the advantage of such a repartition of the conquered country, as he could reasonably expect, he should find upon the reduction of it that the Commonwealth section in England and her two sister kingdoms would dwindle away of itself, and so the king would not only become absolute master of his people, but as his Christian Majesty would concert the sharing of those provinces with his brother of England the naval power and trade of Great Britain would receive an incredible augmentation by the destruction of a state that was her only competitor by sea, and in commerce and riches promoted thereby. For that not only their shipping and seamen, together with their chief seaports and best provinces all entire, would be his Majesty's, but also that all the most wealthy and substantial merchants, and industrious and ingenious tradesmen and artificers, even of the provinces and parts that should fall to the share of the most Christian king, would in all appearance transplant themselves either into England or Ireland, as lying more convenient for trade than their own country, or at least into those parts of the Netherlands which should be reduced under the power of the king of Great Britain; to whose domination as approaching nearest the sweetness and freedom of that they now were under they would certainly more

willingly submit their persons and fortunes than to that of the more absolute one of the French monarch, against which they had entertained a thousand prejudices. In fine she most earnestly and affectionately besought him to take these matters into his most serious consideration and to return a speedy and if it might in any ways be a favourable answer, that she might have the happiness to return back the messenger of good news and such news as might prove a foundation of a lasting felicity to both the illustrious families from which both his Majesty and herself were descended. The king after a little silence told her by way of reply to the things she had represented to him, that it was impossible for him to doubt the ardency and reality of the affection of a sister so amiable, and who had always expressed so much tenderness for his interest, that he as little questioned but that she had penetrated as far into the interiors of his brother of France as it was possible anyone could into the heart of a king; and therefore upon her representation of him chiefly which he assured her would induce him to give more credit to the favourable conjectures he had made of his temper during the little time he had the honour to converse with him whilst in exile, and to the general character he had, since his personal administration of public affairs, obtained in the world, being a prince of great honour and generosity; and thereupon passing by some former unhandsome and unkind treatments in his court, as pure effects and and influences of the over-ruling ascendant of the

then regnant Mazarin and not of the prince's own inclination, he should put much confidence in the sincerity of the most Christian king, and accordingly desired her to return his said Majesty his royal and most hearty thanks for these obliging expressions of amity and affection he had signified to him by her, and to assure him in his name he should ever have his friendship in high esteem, and would go as great lengths as in prudence and interest he could to serve him and to comply with his desires. But that the matters proposed being of the highest consequence, he must beg his excuse if he required more time to give him a positive and satisfactory answer thereto than the short space limited for her stay in England would permit; however, that he would with all convenient expedition give him a better account. In the meanwhile he should request his most Christian brother by her to do him the justice to believe he was as sincerely affectioned to his person as he could be to his, and should ever persist to be, as far as a king of England could, his constant and obsequious friend. The like answer, as far as it was agreeable to his circumstances, was returned by the duke. After which the princess renewing the charge in the business of religion, the king freely told her that as to that point, though he had entertained very kind and favourable thoughts of the Roman religion and its professors, for several reasons instanced, and did believe that if it were re-established in his dominions the monarchy would be safer and easier than it could be under the present state of

Protestancy, yet he was not so fully satisfied of it as to make it his own religion, and that on the other side he foresaw such insurmountable difficulties in attempting such a re-establishment that he did not think any policy, no, nor the whole power of France, could he command it all entire, without any diversion from other interested neighbours (too extraordinary a juncture to be probably expected), could be able to carry him well through them. To which the princess, who saw well enough, as well by his looks and actions as by his expressions, that she had made more sensible impressions on his spirits than he was willing to acknowledge, thinking she had done enough for her part and sufficiently broke the ice for those that should be designed to push the point further at more leisure, modestly replied that since that was his Majesty's sense in which he was fixed she would waive all farther importunities on that subject and leave it wholly depending between himself and God, whom she would continually pray to inspire his Majesty with light enough to know and courage enough to embrace the truth in his appointed time. But, however, she should be glad to know his Majesty's sentiments as to the design against Holland, adding that she was confident he could not but think it was at least for his interest, and feasible too. Yes, madam, answered the king, I am convinced that, if crowned with success, it would be enough for the interests of this monarchy and of my subjects too; but yet as practicable as it seemeth to you, it is likewise not without its difficulties, and those very great

ones too, for the ill-success of my last war with that nation, the dissatisfaction of my people thereupon, the triple league in which I am lately engaged with Holland, the inclination my subjects have for the Dutch, as being a Protestant nation, and the implacable aversion they have to the French, and their jealousies of their power and of their religion, are mighty obstacles in the way; however, if my brother of France can propose me any practicable expedients to remove them, which I make no doubt, I will, as I have said, do what I can to comply with him in that enterprise, and so the princess declaring herself well satisfied with what had been said on the subject of her errand, they passed from the businesses of State to the divertisements of the Court.

1670.—Louise de Querouaille, Duchess of Portsmouth.

Ibid, p. 53.

Concerning Monsieur Le Tellier's sentiments in regard to the management of the affairs of England to the advantage of the French, among other expedients he proposed the sending over some choice female as might be capable to charm a prince whose heart was so susceptible of an amorous flame as that of the king of England. In conformity to which project they made choice of the opportunity of the princess's going over to effect it, and therefore she upon her arrival presented our king, her brother, with her woman, known then by the name of Madame Carwell, but much better since by the title of Duchess of Portsmouth.

Immediate results of the Princess Henrietta's visit.

The Treaty of Dover. Some of the Articles.

From the original Treaty in the possession of Lord Clifford, trans.

May 22, 1670.

I. It has been agreed, ordered, and concluded that there shall henceforth be for ever a good, secure, and firm peace, true brotherhood, confederation, alliance, and interchange of offices between the said sovereign king of Great Britain, his heirs and successors, on the one part, and the said sovereign and most Christian king on the other, &c.

II. The sovereign king of Great Britain being convinced of the truth of the Catholic religion, and resolved to make confession of it and to reconcile himself with the Roman Church as soon as the affairs of his kingdom permit him, &c.

III. It has been agreed between the most Christian king and his Majesty of Great Britain that the said most Christian king shall never break the peace which has been made with Spain, nor contravene in any point that which he has promised in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

IV. It has also been agreed that if at any time any new titles or rights to the kingdom of Spain fall to the lot of his most Christian Majesty the said king of Great Britain shall assist his most Christian Majesty with all his forces both by sea and land in order to facilitate the acquisition of the said rights, &c.

V. The said sovereign kings having both the one and the other many more subjects than they have need of to justify to the world the resolution which they have taken to mortify the pride of the united provinces of the Low Countries . . . it is agreed, ordered, and concluded that their Majesties shall declare and make war conjointly with all their forces both by land and sea upon the said States General of the United Provinces, &c.

VI. And to make and conduct this war with as good an issue as the said sovereign kings hope for the justice of the common cause, it has also been agreed that his most Christian Majesty shall defray the whole expense, the said sovereign king of Great Britain only binding himself to send and maintain under the commandership of his most Christian Majesty six thousand foot soldiers, &c.

VII. . . . . And in order that the said sovereign king of Great Britain may more easily support the expenses of this war his most Christian Majesty pledges himself to pay every year to the said king as long as the war shall last in manner aforesaid the sum of three millions of French livres, of which the first payment to be made three months before the declaration of war shall be of seven hundred and fifty thousand French livres, the second of like sum upon the declaration of the war, and the rest amounting to fifteen hundred thousand French livres six months after the declaration of war aforesaid: and in the following years the first payment shall be of seven hundred thousand French livres, and shall be paid

on the first of February, the second of like sum on the first of May, and the third of fifteen hundred thousand French livres on the fifteenth of October, &c., &c., &c.

Signed, COLBERT.
ARLINGTON.
T. ARUNDELL.
T. CLIFFORD.
R. BELLINGS.

Death of the Princess Henrietta.

Reresby: Memoirs.

1670, Jan. 20.—The duke of Orleans had for some time been jealous of his wife, and if all that is said be true, not without good ground: the Count de Guiche it seems, had been a favourite with her, and now she is said to have fallen in love with the duke of Monmouth, while she was at Dover; in short, things were so represented to the duke, her husband, that she died very suddenly after her return to Paris, by poison as the report was.

Death of the Duchess of York.

Reresby: Memoirs.

This day (Mar. 31, 1671) died Anne, duchess of York with her last breath declaring herself a papist.

Colonel Blood after attempting to steal the Crown jewels is pardoned.

Evelyn's Diary.

May 10, 1671. . . . . dined at my Lord Treasurer's, where dined . . . one Blood . .

that impudent bold fellow who had not long before attempted to steal the imperial crown itself out of the Tower, pretending curiosity of seeing the regalia there, when, stabbing the keeper, though not mortally, he boldly went away with it through all the guards, taken only by the accident of his horse falling down. How he came to be pardoned, and even received into favour, not only after this but several other exploits almost as daring both in Ireland and here, I could never come to understand. Some believed he became a spy of several parties, being well with the sectaries and enthusiasts, and did his Majesty's service that way, which none alive could do so well as he. . . . The man had not only a daring but a villainous, unmerciful look; a false countenance, but very well spoken and dangerously insinuating.

London rebuilt.

Crook's Historian's Guide.

Oct. 30, 1671.

The city of London, having all its public buildings recovered out of the late ruins to a greater splendour and beauty than heretofore, made an humble invitation to his Majesty to honour their Lord Mayor's feast with his presence, to which his Majesty was pleased to consent, and this day accordingly dined at their Guildhall.

The Duchess of Portsmouth.

Burnet, ed. Oxford, 1823, vol. i., p. 585.

1672.

This year the king declared a new mistress, and

made her duchess of Portsmouth. She had been maid of honour to madame, the king's sister, and had come over with her to Dover, where the king had expressed such a regard to her that the duke of Buckingham, who hated the duchess of Cleveland, intended to put her on the king. He told him that it was a decent piece of tenderness for his sister to take care of her servants. . . That duke assured the king of France that he could never reckon himself sure of the king but by giving him a mistress that should be true to his interests. . . The king divided himself between her and Mistress Gwynne, and had no other avowed amour.

Results of the Treaty of Dover.
Actual Proclamation of the Second Dutch War.

Crook's Historian's Guide.

Mar. 28, 1672.

This day his Majesty's declaration of war was proclaimed against the States General of the United Provinces.

A public fast had been proclaimed for the War four days before.

London Gazette, 1672, No. 662.

Sunday, March 24.

His Majesty hath been graciously pleased to issue his proclamation to this effect, that his Majesty being necessitated for the just defence and vindication of his own and subjects' rights to declare war against the States of the United Provinces, and having his

forces now in readiness upon a present expedition, hath resolved and doth command a general and public fast.

Battle of Southwold Bay and Death of Lord Sandwich.

Crook's Historian's Guide.

Mar. 28, 1672.

His Royal Highness [the duke of York] this day engaged the whole Dutch fleet off of Southwold Bay. After a sharp dispute of about eight hours the Dutch fleet gave way and retreated. In the engagement was unfortunately lost that noble and gallant sea commander Edward Montague, earl of Sandwich and vice-admiral of England.

Shaftesbury takes the Great Seal as head of the Cabal.

Ibid.

Nov. 4, 1672.

Sir Orlando Bridgeman, late Lord Keeper, having resigned, by reason of his great age and a continual indisposition of body, the Great Seal into the hands of his Majesty;

Nov. 17.

His Majesty was pleased to deliver the keeping of it to the Right Honourable Anthony Ashley Cooper, earl of Shaftesbury, with the title of Lord Chancellor of England.

1672.—The Cabal in existence. Opinion of the French Court concerning the members of the Cabal.

Letter in the Secret Hist. of Whitehall, Lond. 1717, vol. i., pp. 78, 79.

Paris.

The ministers of this Court are not only the most inquisitive persons in the world into the affairs of other Courts, but even into the persons who manage them; whose natures, dispositions, religion, natural and acquired abilities, as well as respective infirmities, they endeavour to sift out to the quick that so they may use them or shun them as they find occasion: and for this reason it is that they make some remarks upon them in their minutes, as well as upon the affairs transacted by them. And therefore since the five persons who made up the Cabal in England . . . . , and who your lordship may remember were the dukes of Buckingham and Lauderdale, the earls of Shaftesbury and Arlington, and the Lord Treasurer Clifford, were very distinguishable for the stations they filled the offices they held and the parts each of them acted in the government; I find this character given of them: for the duke of Buckingham, as he was the king's favourite, so he really deserved to be so, as being very capable to be a minister of state if his application to business had been answerable to his talents; if his mind, which was furnished with excellent endowments, had not been distracted by libertinism, which was in him to an extreme degree; and by a love to his pleasures,

which made one of those persons in the world that was fittest for great and solid things vain and frivolous. Of the duke of Lauderdale there is little or nothing said but that he is a great and quaint politician, and no question but he has merited that character at their hand. Of my lord Clifford they are as profuse in their praises, as I doubt they have been too of their money; saying he was a person who wanted nothing but a theatre where virtue and reason had been much more in use than it was in his country in the age wherein he lived, for to be superior to and overtop the rest. My lord of Arlington they make to be a person of meaner capacity, and a more limited genius than any of the five, but say his experiences supply the defect, and have acquired him especially a very great knowledge of foreign affairs. Last of all, they bring in Anthony Ashley-Cooper, the renowned earl of Shaftesbury; of whom they say he was by far the fittest person of any of them to manage a great enterprise, and so was as the soul to all the rest, being endued with a vast capacity, clear judgment, bold nature, and subtle wit, equally firm and constant in all he undertook; a constant friend but an implacable enemy; with many other expressions, such as his not being terrified either with the greatness or the multitude of crimes he judges necessary for his own preservation, or the destruction of others much to his lordship's dishonour, which is a clear argument he was not for their interest, and for which he is much beholden to them.

The King closes the Exchequer. National Bankruptcy.

Reresby: Memoirs.

Dec 11, 1672.

And now the king, having borrowed most of the ready money of the nation of the goldsmiths (at that time called bankers), locked up the Exchequer, to the bankruptcy of the most considerable of them, and the ruin of an infinite people, whose money they had borrowed at interest; and with this calamity we conclude this year.

Parliament re-assembles.

Crook's Historian's Guide.

1673, Feb. 4.

The Parliament met at Westminster according to the prorogation, and chose sir Job Charlton, Chief Justice of Chester, for their speaker in the room of sir Edward Turner.

How the Parliament was constituted.

Reresby: Memoirs.

1673.

The Parliament of these days had, from the beginning, which was soon after the Restoration, been perfectly well inclined to the king: they had given him a very great revenue upon tonnage and poundage, and also began excise upon several sorts of liquors, hearth-money, not to mention temporary taxes, the whole amounting to above three times more than had been enjoyed by any king of England before. The

country groaned under this pressure, and began to be dissatisfied; which having an influence on some gentlemen of both houses, gave birth to two parties, the one for the country, the other for the Court. The former pretended in an impartial manner to espouse the cause of the people in their liberties and properties, and whatever is dear to Englishmen; to assert the religion and government by law established; the latter pretended to the same, but thought the king was to have a competent income and be invested with a due power for the exercise of his regal office, without having two great a dependence on the people, a cause which had been of such pernicious effects to his royal father. Hence it was that gentlemen bestirred themselves more than usual to be elected into a seat in Parliament; so that great was the competition amongst the candidates, and at great expenses they were, even from one or two hundred, to two thousand pounds. But the concerns of the public were not what alone actuated all men; some wanted to be in the House to be screened from their debts, the Parliament having sat a long while; and some had obtained great emoluments from the Court to stand up for that interest.

A Résumé of Religious Affairs from the Restoration to the year 1672.

Charles burns the League and Covenant to which he subscribed during his exile.

Mercurius Publicus, No. 20, 1661, p. 320.

Westminster, May 22.

This day (according to order of both lords and

LAUDERDALE.

commons) that pernicious oath called the Solemn League and Covenant was burned by the hand of the common hangman in the new palace, Westminster, in Cheapside, and at the Old Exchange.

Act of Uniformity. Lauderdale in Scotland. The First Indulgence.

R. Coke: Detection of the Court and State. London 1694, p. 115, *et seq.*

Lauderdale. . . . . was taken prisoner after the fight at Worcester, and from that time kept prisoner in Windsor Castle, from whence he was set free upon the king's restoration; but became so poor that it is said he could not meet the king for want of money to pay for a pair of boots. . . . . In the late wars between the king and Parliament, he, with sir John Cheesley were ordered commissioners by the Kirk Faction to the Parliament in England for propagating the Presbyterian government; but this being most detestable at court, Lauderdale, to raise himself, set himself with all his skill to oppose it; and by it at first got to be made principal secretary of state of Scotland, and as renegadoes from Christianity become the greatest persecutors of Christians, so was Lauderdale of the Kirk and Presbyterian government. However, Lauderdale seemed zealous for calling a Parliament in Scotland, and demolishing the forts that bridled the Scots, which Monk opposed. . . hereby Lauderdale became popular in Scotland, so that all applications to the king from thence were by Lauderdale.

In this state it was not easily determined who should be commissioner in Scotland, in case a Parliament should be called; for affairs were not yet ripe to make a Popish one, nor would the court trust a Presbyterian one; and Lauderdale would not forsake his place at court, where he governed all, but continue it, that all the motions in Parliament might receive their life from him. At last it was agreed that Middleton (who first served the Kirk against the king, Charles I, and after changing sides, made some bustle in Scotland after the king left it) should be created an earl, and made a commissioner, and a Parliament should be called in Scotland.

The nobility and gentry of Scotland clearly saw there was no other way to redeem Scotland from being a conquered nation, and a province to England, but by an entire submission to the king. Lauderdale knew this as well as they, and therefore resolved to make them pay dear for their deliverance; and now you shall see the nobility and gentry, which with the Kirk united against Charles I., divide under his son, and sacrifice the Kirk, and all their discipline, to make an atonement for themselves. The first act which was shewed herein was upon this occasion.

The fiery zeal of the Kirkmen burnt up all rules of prudence, or the consideration of the present state of Scotland, so that even in this state, crowns and sceptres must submit to the Kirk; and that the king might know his duty, a company of them met together, and drew up a supplication (as they said), but in nature a remonstrance to the king, setting forth

the calamities they groaned under in the time of the usurpers, by their impious encroachments upon the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the liberties thereof, which of themselves they were not able to suppress and overcome, and the danger of the popish and prelatical party, now beginning again to lift up their head, and press him to mind his oaths and covenant with God, &c.

The committee of estates well knowing how ungrateful this would be to the king, upon the 23rd of August, 1660, sent a party and apprehended these men, whereof one Mr. James Guthrie was the chief (of whom you'll hear more hereafter), and committed them prisoners to Edinburgh Castle, and from thence Guthrie was sent prisoner to Dundee for treasonable and seditious reflecting on his Majesty, and on the Government of England, and the constitution of the committee of State, and tending to raise new tumults, and kindling a new civil war among his Majesty's good subjects.

This was the first spark, which soon burnt into such a flame as totally consumed the whole Kirk party in Scotland and left them in a much worse plight than before, when they suffered under the usurpation (as they called it) of the English.

For during the late usurpation, the Kirk enjoyed a liberty of conscience; but it's the nature of some men, that unless they may persecute other men, to exclaim they are persecuted themselves, and therefore (since they were not able to do it themselves) they minded the king of his covenant with God, to extir-

pate heresy, schism, and profaneness, and to remove the stumbling which the king had given them, in admitting prelacy, ceremonies and service book in the king's chapel, and places of his dominions. But these men were mistaken in their measures, for after the king was expelled from Scotland, by Cromwell, he little (I may say never) observed the directory of worship, confession of faith, and catechisms in his family, according to the national and solemn league and covenant, as he repeated in his coronation oath [at Scone], and less the establishing the Presbyterian government in England and Ireland, and least of all in Scotland.

For one of the first acts of the first session was an anniversary thanksgiving, to be observed upon every 29th May, with this proëm :

"The states of Parliament of the kingdom of Scotland, taking into their consideration the sad condition, slavery and bondage, this ancient kingdom has groaned under these twenty-three years" (the time when the troubles arose in king Charles the First's reign) "in which under very specious pretences of reformation a public rebellion has been, by the treachery of some, and mispersuasion of others, violently carried on against sacred authority, to the ruin and destruction, as far as was possible, of religion, the king's Majesty and his royal government and laws, liberties and property of the people, and all the public and private interests of the kingdom, so that religion itself hath been prostituted for the warrant of all these treasonable invasions made upon the

royal authority, and disloyal limitations upon the allegiance of the subjects. Therefore upon the 29th of May be set apart for a Holy Day, &c." Yet so soon after the king's restoration, he wrote to the presbytery of Edinburgh, promising to countenance the church as by law established; but Lauderdale knew his mind better.

Here it's observable that in 1635, when the Kirk were so zealous, with lifted up hands in the presence of the eternal God, to swear to establish their national covenant, there was not one of the nobility (but the Popish) except the marquis of Hamilton and the earl of Traquair, but joined with the Kirk, expressly against the king's command: Traquair the Kirk party proceeding against as an incendiary; and after, Hamilton secretly joined with the Covenanters, for which king Charles I. made him prisoner in Pendennis Castle; from whence he was discharged when Fairfax had it surrendered: and not one of the nobility (except Argyll and Cassilis) but declare this, and all the Kirk proceedings since, treasonable rebellion against the laws, liberties and property of the people, and prostitution of religion; and this declaration was celebrated with a double sacrifice, the marquis of Argyll being executed as a traitor for holding correspondence with Cromwell; and his head set where Montrose's stood on the Monday before: and Mr. Guthrie on the Saturday after, for refusing to own the jurisdiction of the judges in ecclesiastical affairs; and his head set upon one of the posts of Edinburgh. This was a sad presage to

the Kirk of what followed . . . The next Act (I cannot say Parliamentary, for it was purely arbitrary) . . . was the total rooting out of the Presbyterian government in Scotland . . . upon this occasion . . . . Mr. James Sharp, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Fairwell, Mr. Loghton (but whether sent for by the king or sent by the Kirk party I do not find) came in 1661, to London, and were ordained deacons and presbyters, and after, consecrated bishops, by the bishop of Winchester and two other bishops. The acceptance of such a renunciation of their Presbyterian ordination ; nay, it was a declaration of the invalidity of their former ordination, and thereupon, the king on the sixth of September, 1661, issued out a proclamation declaring his royal pleasure to be for the restoring the government of the Church in Scotland to be by archbishops and bishops, as it was exercised in the year 1637 ; and that he had nominated and presented archbishops and bishops to their several bishoprics, and to have the same authority they had in the reign of his grandfather. . . . . In obedience to this proclamation the Privy Council, the ninth of January following, did discharge all ecclesiastical meetings in synods, presbyteries, and sessions until they be authorised by the archbishops and bishops upon their entry unto the government of their respective sees, which was to be done speedily.

Though this proclamation and intimation of the Privy Council had prevented the Parliament, yet to make sure work of both the Parliament, in their

second sessions, redintegrated the bishops to the exercise of their episcopal functions and to all their privileges, dignities, jurisdictions, and possessions, due and formerly belonging thereunto.

And another act did ordain all ministers to repair unto their diocesan assembly and concur in all acts of church discipline, and as they should be required by the archbishops or bishops of the diocese under pain of being suspended from their office and benefice till the next diocesan meeting, for their first fault; and if they amended not, to be deprived and the church to be declared vacant. . . Though the high commission which Laud so zealously endeavoured to erect in Scotland was put down by Act of Parliament 1661, in England, yet the king by the inherent right of his crown, and by virtue of his prerogative royal and supreme authority in causes ecclesiastic, erected one in Scotland: the commissioners were partly ecclesiastics and partly laymen, who (or five of them, whereof one to be a bishop) had more arbitrary power given them over the clergy than was practised in England, under Laud, and more than Laud could have expected, for an high commission for Scotland, in the king's father's reign.

Thus you see the Kirk which would be a distinct table and independent upon the crown of Scotland are by the prerogative of it committed to the arbitrary mercy of the prelates, whom for above four-and-twenty years they had been railing against and by many oaths sware to extirpate. . . . . .

. . . . For the year after, viz. 1663. . . .

the king granted a toleration and indulgence to dissenters from the Church. Thinking men thought this strange, that the king should the year before pass the Act of Uniformity, as the best means to secure the Church against Popery and fanaticism, and thus grant a toleration. It could not be in favour of them termed fanatics, who kept him from his crown ; and that year Venner with his party would have expelled him again ; and this year swarms of pamphlets were spread abroad, to defame his person and Government, for printing some of which, Twyne, the printer, was hanged.

Thinking men considered, too, the time when this indulgence was granted ; for as the king in the sale of Dunkirk chose to do it in the interval of the sitting of Parliament, so he did grant this indulgence . . . . . in November, when the Parliament was prorogued to February.

But though the Parliament would take no notice of the sale of Dunkirk, they did of this ; and therefore the Commons, upon their meeting, entered into a serious debate about it, and made an address to the king, humbly requesting how it would reflect upon the wisdom of Parliament to have such an alteration made so soon, and that for aught they could foresee would end in Popery ; and sure the Commons were true prophets herein. However, whether the fearing the continuance of the indulgence might retard the Commons in giving him money, or that the time was not yet ripe enough to insist upon it at present, he recalled his declaration,

so that though the king did establish an High Commission in Scotland by his prerogative inherent in his crown, yet this indulgence had not the like effect in England.

This indulgence may seem more strange where the Irish this very year were contriving a massacre of the Protestants, and holding intelligence with the French king, which you may read at large in Plunket's trial, and this proved by Popish witnesses. I do not find the Irish had any countenance herein by the king, nor do I believe the French king acquainted his brother of England with it; yet the insincerity of the king's intentions of any benefit the Protestant dissenters should have by this indulgence will appear when the Parliament, seeing the danger which the prosecution of Protestant dissenters might bring upon the nation, had prepared bills for the ease of Protestant dissenters that the king would not pass them.

Burnet on the Declaration of Indulgence. Clarendon and Bristol.

Burnet: History of his own Time, 1724, vol. 1, p. 196.

1663.—The Church party was alarmed at all this, and though they were unwilling to suspect the king or the duke, yet the management for Popery was so visible that in the next session of Parliament the king's declaration was severely arraigned and the authors of it were plainly enough pointed at. This was done chiefly by the lord Clarendon's friends. And at this the earl of Bristol was highly displeased,

and resolved to take all possible methods to ruin the earl of Clarendon. He had a great skill in astrology, and had possessed the king with a high opinion of it; and told the duke of Buckingham, as he said to the earl of Rochester, Wilmot, from whom I had it, that he was confident that he would lay that before the king, which would totally alienate him both from his brother and from the lord Clarendon: for he could demonstrate by the principles of that art that he was to fall by his brother's means, if not by his hand; and he was sure this would work on the king. It would so, said the duke of Buckingham, but in another way than he expected, for it would make the king so afraid of offending him that he would do anything rather than provoke him. Yet the lord Bristol would lay this before the king. And the duke of Buckingham believed that it had the effect ever after that he had apprehended: for though the king never loved nor esteemed the duke, yet he seemed to stand in some sort of awe of him.

But this was not all: the lord Bristol resolved to offer articles of impeachment against the earl of Clarendon to the House of Lords. . . So the lord Bristol drew his impeachment and carried it to the king, who took much pains . . . to dissuade him from it. But he would not be wrought on. . . . The next day he carried the charge to the House of Lords. It was of a very mixed nature: in one part he charged Clarendon with raising jealousies and spreading reports of the king's being a papist; and yet in the other articles he charged him with corre-

spondence with the Court of Rome, in order to the making the lord Aubigny a cardinal, and several other things of a very strange nature. As soon as he put it in he it seems either repented of it or at least was prevailed with to abscond. . . Proclamations went out for discovering him. But he kept out of the way till the storm was over.

Lauderdale and Middleton.

Ibid., pp. 107-113.

The earl of Lauderdale at his first coming to the king stuck firm for Presbytery. He told me the king spoke to him to let that go, for it was not a religion for gentlemen. He being really a Presbyterian, but at the same time resolving to get into the king's confidence, studied to convince the king. . . . to keep up Presbytery still in Scotland.

In the end of the year (1660) the earl of Middleton came down [to Scotland] in great magnificence; his way of living was the most splendid the nation had ever seen, but it was likewise the most scandalous, for vices of all sorts were the open practices of those about him.

Middleton returns to London.

Ibid., p. 200.

1663.

The earl of Middleton . . came up to London, and was very coldly received by the king. The earl of Lauderdale moved that a Scottish council might be called. . . When it met the lord Lauderdale

accused the earl of Middleton of many malversations in the great trust he had been in. . . Towards the end of May the king called many of the English counsellors together . . . the king said his errors were so great and so many that the credit of his affairs must suffer if he continued them any longer in such hands. Yet he promised . . . he would still be kind to him, for he looked on him as a very honest man. Few days after that secretary Morris was sent to him, with a warrant under the king's hand, requiring him to deliver up his commission, which he did. . . . The earl of Rothes was declared the king's commissioner. But the earl of Lauderdale would not trust him. So he went down with him, and kept him too visibly in a dependence on him, for all his high character.

The Conventicle Act.

Ibid., p. 204.

While they [Lauderdale and Rothes] were going on with their affairs they understood that an Act had passed in the Parliament of England against all conventicles, empowering justices of peace to convict offenders without juries. . . Any meeting for religious worship at which five were present more than the family was declared a conventicle. And every person above sixteen that was present at it was to lie three months in prison, or pay £5 for the first offence; six months for the second offence, or to pay £20 fine; and for the third offence, being convict by a jury, was to be banished to any plantation except

New England or Virginia, or to pay £100. All people were amazed at this severity. But the bishops in Scotland took heart upon it, and resolved to copy from it. So an Act was passed almost in the same terms. And at the passing it lord Lauderdale in a long speech expressed great zeal for the Church.

Public Opinion on the Conventicle Act.

Pepys, 1854, vol. ii., p. 156.

Aug. 7, 1664. Lord's day.

I saw several poor creatures carried by, by constables, for being at a conventicle. They go like lambs, without any resistance. I would to God they would either conform or be more wise and not be catched.

The Five Mile Act.

Coke: Detection of Court and State, vol. ii.. p. 143.

1665.

Neither the plague [the] . . . Dutch war nor the king's declaration of indulgence for dispensing with the penal laws against dissenters could abate the Parliament's zeal in prosecuting Protestant Nonconformist ministers, but they made a law called the Five Mile Act, whereby they were banished five miles from any corporate or market town and had this oath imposed upon them:

I, A. B., do declare that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatever to take up arms against the king, and that I do abhor that traitorous position of taking up arms, by his authority against his person,

or any that are commissioned by him in pursuance of such commission. And I do swear that I will not at any time to come endeavour the alteration of the government either in Church or State, so help me, God.

1672. — The Second Declaration of Indulgence brought about by Lauderdale at the instance of the French Court: its Consequences.

Concerning the Second Declaration of Indulgence granted by King Charles II. in the beginning of the year 1672.

Secret Hist. of Whitehall, 1717, vol. i., p. 76.

It was not enough for this Court [the French Court] to engage the king to consent to a second war with the Dutch and shutting up the exchequer purely to serve their interest and designs, but they must put him upon another piece of state-drudgery which at the same time I am well satisfied he was not of himself much averse to, and that was the declaration of indulgence to tender consciences, as they were pleased to cant [nickname] it. They knew well enough what severe laws were in force against all those that dissented from the public church, and some of them fresh enough in memory not to be soon forgotten; and they knew full as well, that with the Popish and Presbyterianly affected persons, as well as the prerogative and republican party when they began to revive, that were about the king would greedily promote it, or at leastwise some of all the mentioned sorts, as a means whereby to attain the ends aimed at by those different factions.

Its effect upon Parliament.
Address of both Houses against the growth of Popery.

Cobbett: Parl. Hist., vol. iv., col. 559 et seq.

1673. March 7. Both Houses agreed to the following address to his Majesty:—Most gracious sovereign, we your Majesty's most loyal subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present parliament assembled, being very sensible of the great dangers and mischiefs that may arise within this your Majesty's realm by the increase of Popish recusants amongst us; and considering the great resort of priests and Jesuits into this kingdom who daily endeavour to seduce your Majesty's subjects from their religion and allegiance; and how desirous your loyal subjects are that no Popish recusants be admitted into employments of trust and profit, and especially into military commands over the forces now in your Majesty's service, and having a tender regard to the preservation of your Majesty's person, and the peace and tranquility of this kingdom, do in all humility desire

1. That your Majesty would be pleased to issue out your royal proclamation to command all priests and Jesuits (other than such as, not being natural born subjects to your Majesty, are obliged to attend upon your royal consort the queen) to depart within 30 days out of this your Majesty's kingdom; and that if any priest or Jesuit shall happen to be taken in England after the expiration of the said time, that the laws be put in due execution against them; and

that your Majesty would please, in the said proclamation, to command all judges, justices of the peace, mayors, bailiffs, and other officers to put the said laws in execution accordingly.

2. That your Majesty would likewise be pleased that the lord chancellor of England shall, on or before the 25th of March next, issue out commissions of *Dedimus potestatem* to the judge advocate and commissaries of the musters, and such other persons as he shall think fit (not being officers commanding soldiers) to tender the oath of allegiance and supremacy to all officers and soldiers now in your Majesty's service and pay, and that such as refuse the said oaths may be immediately disbanded, and not allowed or continued to any pay or pension; and that the chancellor shall require due returns to be made thereof within some convenient time after the issuing out of the said commissions.

3. That the said commissaries of the musters be commanded and enjoined by your Majesty's warrant, upon penalty of losing their places, not to permit any officer to be mustered in the service and pay of your Majesty till he shall have taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the laws and usage of the Church of England; and that every soldier serving at land shall take the said oaths before his first muster and receive the sacrament in such manner before his second muster.—And this we present in all dutifulness to your Majesty's princely wisdom and consideration as the best means for the

satisfying and composing the minds of your loyal subjects; humbly desiring your Majesty graciously to accept of this our petition, as proceeding from hearts and affections entirely devoted to your Majesty's service, and to give it your royal approbation.

The King's Answer to the Address.

Ibid., col. 561.

March 8. The lord chancellor reported that both Houses waited upon the king yesterday, and presented him with the address against the growth of popery; and his Majesty hath been pleased to return this answer:—

My Lords and Gentlemen,—I do heartily agree with you in your address, and shall give speedy order to have it put into execution: there is one part to which I believe it is not your intention that it should extend; for I can scarce say those are in my pay that are presently employed abroad, but as for all the other parts I shall take care it shall be done as you desire.

The King cancels the Declaration of Indulgence.

Ibid, col. 561.

"There was another particular," the lord chancellor said, "he thought fit to acquaint them with, which though it was by his Majesty's leave yet it was not by his command; however he thought it his duty to acquaint the House with it (Mr. Secretary Coventry intending to acquaint the House of Commons with the same): that his Majesty had the last night, in pursuance of what he then intended, and declared

this morning, concerning the Suspension of the Penal Laws not being for the future drawn either into consequence or example, caused the original declaration under the great seal to be cancelled in his presence; whereof himself and several other lords of the council were witnesses."

All this was so satisfactory to the Parliament that both Houses joined in the following vote:—"Resolved, *nem. con.*, That the humble and hearty thanks of these Houses be returned to his Majesty for his gracious, full, and satisfactory answer this day given to their humble petitions and addresses." This was declared to the king in the Banqueting House by the mouth of the lord chancellor at the head of both Houses; to which his Majesty made this answer: "My Lords and Gentlemen, I hope there will never be any difference amongst us; I assure you there shall never be any occasion on my part."

The Test Act read a third time.

Ibid., col. 561.

March 12.

A bill to prevent the growth of Popery was read a third time in the House of Commons.

Acts against Roman Catholics and Jesuits enforced.

London Gazette, 1673, No. 764, p. 1.

Whitehall, March 14 [1673].

His Majesty hath been pleased to issue his Royal Proclamation of the 13th instant . . his Majesty . . . strictly charges and commands all Jesuits,

all English, Irish, and Scotch priests, and all others who have taken orders from the See of Rome, or by the authority . . . thereof . . . that they do before the 13th of April next depart out of England and dominion of Wales, upon pain of the laws and statutes inflicted upon them, &c., &c.

Recapture of St. Helena.

Ibid., p. 89.

May 6, 1673.

The Island of St. Helena, in the East Indies, was this day regained by Captain Munday, with some other of his Majesty's ships from the Dutch, and three rich East India Dutch prizes taken in the harbour.

The Cabal broken up, Shaftesbury out of office joins the Opposition.

London Gazette, 1673, No. 832.

Nov. 9, 1673.

His Majesty was pleased to take the great seal of England from the earl of Shaftesbury, lord chancellor, and deliver it to Sir Heneage Finch, his Majesty's attorney-general, with the title of lord keeper.

Butler's Satire upon Shaftesbury.

The Court Burlesqued, Lond. 1714, pp. 57, 58.

Another factious grave bellwether
Whose tongue 's the devil's breeches leather,
The plague and teazer of the Court,
Whose chief delight 's in doing hurt,

The head of all the factious clan,
By whom our feuds were first began;
The city's god, the rabble's leader,
A lord, a rebel, and a trader
Who keeps his changes and cabals,
At public halls and festivals;
An old rebellious canting wizard,
Who loves the rump with all his gizzard;
Hell's journeyman, our plot projector,
The rebel's patriot and protector,
So loose no royal smiles can win him,
So base the very devil 's in him;
The sower of seditious seeds,
The planter of rebellious weeds,
The quintessence of all that's naught,
And yet too cunning to be caught;
The subtle baffler of the laws,
The bulwark of the good old cause,
The fatal firebrand of the nation,
The spring of all abomination,
The Cacafugo of the age,
The Samford of the public stage,
The broacher of destructive schism,
The very tap of devilism,
Through which all sorts of treasons flow,
That with his dropsic humours grow,
Yet once was great in the esteem
Of him that wears the diadem;
But still when high in power and place,
The statesman did the judge disgrace,
And show his nature to be base:

Thus factious foes whom kings endeavour
So oft to win by royal favour,
Though honours make them less severe,
Yet still the rebel will appear.

Second Marriage of the Duke of York.

Reresby. Memoirs, ed. 1735, p. 24.

1673.

Towards the latter end of this year the duke declared his marriage with Mary, daughter of the duke of Modena, not long before arrived with the duchess her mother. The nation was much grieved at this match, the lady being a Papist of the strictest class, and the whole affair managed by the French interest.

Buckingham in disgrace, reasons for it.

Ibid.

1674, January.

The duke of Buckingham was now . . . in disgrace, for which he was indebted to the duchess of Portsmouth, a French lady and now the most absolute of all the king's mistresses; a very fine woman she was, but most think she was sent on purpose to ensnare the king, who most readily ran into toils of that sort. His grace in vain made use of the mediation of the lord treasurer.

Other and stronger reasons.

Ibid., p. 25.

1674.

The king was at this time particularly displeased

with his grace [the duke of Buckingham], for that being summoned by the House of Commons to give an account of some malversations when he was minister, he did not appear; he did not only appear, being a peer, and that without the king's leave, but to excuse himself reflected upon others, and upon the whole behaved in that assembly in too mean and submissive a manner; which, however, was of no avail to him against the Commons, who addressed the king to lay him aside with regard to all offices of trust or profit. His grace was also called to the bar of the House of Peers for scandalously living with the Lady Shrewsbury as man and wife, he being a married man, and for having killed my lord Shrewsbury after he had debauched his wife.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE END OF THE SECOND DUTCH WAR TO THE TREATY OF NIMEGUEN.

Peace with the Dutch, 1674.

Crook's Historian's Guide.

Feb. 9, 1674.

The treaty of peace concluded between his Majesty and the States General of the United Provinces, was this day signed by his Majesty's commissioners and by the marquess Del Tresno . . . on the part of the said States.

Feb. 28.

The peace with Holland publicly proclaimed in London and Westminster.

Charles receives the Freedom of the City.

Ibid.

Dec. 18, 1674.

His Majesty having been pleased at his entertainment at Guildhall, in the city of London, the twenty-ninth of October last, to accept of the freedom of

the city, by the hands of Sir Thomas Player, their chamberlain; this day the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen waited upon his Majesty at Whitehall and humbly presented him with the copy of the freedom of the city in a box of massy gold, the seal thereof hanging in a golden box set over with diamonds to a considerable value.

1674-1675.—The Duke of York enters the pay of France.

Letter in the Secret History of Whitehall, v. i., Lond., 1717, pp. 145-147.

Paris, Jan. 28, 1680.

My lord,—I cannot think your lordship will so much admire [*i.e.*, wonder] that the duke should suffer himself to engage in a close correspondence with the French Court . . . and to enter into a separate treaty with them . . . . . I cannot tell at present whether there be any other particulars of this same treaty than what has come within my cognisance; but so much as has . . . . I as freely communicate. . . . . The duke was engaged to stick close to his alliance with France, declining all treaties with those of the House of Austria . . . . to oppose to the utmost of his power the king, his brother, from engaging in any war for the confederates . . . . doing his utmost for the propagation of the Catholic religion, pursuing measures for dividing of Protestants . . . . and particularly to raise arms in Scotland and Ire-

land, and call in French forces in case the king should at any time by any motives whatsoever be influenced to act to the French king's prejudice . . . . . all things being thus concluded he received in hand three hundred thousand crowns . . . . . he was to have a considerable annuity of six hundred thousand crowns . . . . and six hundred thousand crowns extraordinary; and Jewish bankers were accordingly employed to transmit the money to him from time to time: besides all which the king's confessor promised him a private contribution from the clergy, and others under his influence, of six hundred thousand crowns more.

Parity of the two parties in Parliament; the king is refused the supply which he demands, but obtains £300,000 for the navy; inferiority of the English navy.

Reresby: Memoirs, 1735, pp. 26-28.

1675, April.

The court side was very pressing and urgent for money for the king's present occasion; the country party thought of nothing less, except some laws were enacted for the better security of the Protestant religion, and the grand point of property. But the two were so equal that nothing but mere words passed between them; mere words without any effect, for neither dared stand the chance of a question put . . . . . The king had in his speech acquainted

us, that he was four millions in debt, exclusive of what he owed to the goldsmiths or bankers for which he paid neither principal nor interest to the ruin of many families. It being put the vote whether money should be given or not, it was carried in the negative by four voices, and that when near four hundred members were in the house. But it appearing, that both the Dutch and French exceeded us, in the proportion and number of their shipping, a sum of three hundred thousand pounds was voted to the king for the building of twenty ships, namely, one of the first rate, five of the second and fourteen of the third. . . . . The state of the fleet was now given in, by which it appeared that we had no more than eight first rates, nine second rates, and forty-three third rates; while the French exceeded us in the number of these rates by six and twenty and the Dutch by fourteen.

1675.—The forerunner of the Popish Plot. The affair of Luzance.

Ibid., pp. 29-31.

Nov., 1675.

The business of Luzance took up some time in the House. This Luzance was a French Jesuit, but becoming a convert to the Church of England, inveighed against the fallacies of the Church of Rome in a sermon he preached in the French Church in the Savoy. This alarmed the Papists, and particularly one Burnet a Jesuit, and confessor to the duchess of York, who finding him alone in his

chamber, and posting three men at the door threatened to murder him if he did not make satisfaction for the injury, eat his words, and speedily return to France. The man in this desperate dilemma promised faithfully whatever was required of him, till he got his liberty, when presently going to Doctor Breval, a converted Jesuit as well as himself, he told him the whole story; Breval the next day acquainted me with it, and I communicated it to the House. The Commons took fire at this and straight appointed a Committee to examine into the matter and ordered me to produce Luzance the next day. He appeared accordingly and averred the thing for a truth. . . . . Upon the report made from the committee to the House, my lord Cavendish called me up to give an account of some other things I had had from Luzance. One was that two French Protestants being merchants of great substance and credit had been threatened by certain Papists, that if they were not less severe upon the Romanists they should ere long see the Protestant blood flow in London streets. A committee was appointed to enquire into the truth of this matter; and Luzance being summoned, gave evidence to the very same effect, and gave it under his own hand. The parties he had his information from being sent for, appeared also, and declared such threats to have been used towards them by some French Papists; but to what cause it was owing is uncertain; they gave in only such names as were of persons either absent or of no estimation; so that little came of this business. But these and other

informations, concerning the height and insolence of the Papists, did so exasperate the House that many motions were made to humble them. Some were for a speedy confinement of them to the country, others for banishment, and some again for disarming them, and the like.

"Louise Renée de Penencoët de Kéroualle" versus Nell Gwynne.

Mme de Sevigné, Letters. Letter xcix., trans.

1676.—As regards news from England, Kéroualle has got what she deserved. She wished to be the king's mistress, and she is so; he is always with her in the face of all the court; she has had a son who has been acknowledged, and presented with two duchies. She amasses treasure, and is feared and respected as much as possible; but she did not foresee that a young actress that the king doats upon would stand in her way; she has not the power to keep him away from her, and he divides his care, his time, and his health between the two. The actress is as proud as the duchess; she mocks her, pulls faces at her, attacks her, and stealing the king from her, boasts whenever he gives her the preference. She is young, indiscreet, bold, free and lively; she sings, she dances, and takes her position as she finds it. She, too, has a son, and hopes to have him acknowledged: in this she reasons thus:—"This duchess says she plays the person of quality; she claims all the great people in France as her relations, and goes into mourning when anyone dies. If she

be a lady, why is she a courtesan? She should die of shame! As for me it is my profession, I don't pretend to anything better. The king keeps me, for the moment I am constant. He has a son by me, I claim that he ought to recognise him, and I expect he will, for he loves me as well as mademoiselle." This girl gets the upper hand, and puts the duchess greatly out of countenance.

Preliminaries of the Treaty of Nimeguen.

Crook's Historian's Guide.

Dec. 15, 1675.

Sir Leoline Jenkyns, his Majesty's plenipotentiary for the treaty of Nimeguen, took his leave in order to his journey.

1676.—The Second Secret Treaty with France.

Letter in the Secret History of Whitehall, Lond., 1717, v. i., pp. 152—154.

Paris, Jan. 27, 1680.

My Lord, — I have already upon two several occasions observed to your lordship, how the duke and duchess [of York] were drawn into private correspondence with the French court, which when they had once happily effected, and by them and some others, already in their interests . . . drawn in many more both courtiers and others; they proceeded being thus so considerably reinforced to hedge in the king himself. And it was high time, for they had now a greater jealousy than ever of the match with the prince of Orange [*i.e.*, the princess Mary,

afterwards Queen, to William of Orange]. . . But in that the king told them there might be difficulties innumerable and so could promise them nothing but his endeavours . . . by reason the Parliament and people were much out of humour . . . because now for him to go about to cross them afresh in obstructing or so much as delaying such a match [with a Protestant prince] the proposal whereof was already so much known to his people, and found to be so much desired by them . . . would hinder them perhaps from granting such supplies as he might otherwise expect from them; unless his most Christian Majesty obliged himself to supply him with money enough to heed them not, or at least to buy votes, and to stop clamorous mouths. But as for that motion of theirs, about committing the children [of the duke of York, who were the heirs apparent] to the Duke's care and tutorage . . he absolutely denied them, saying they were his children or rather the nation's, and not the duke's, especially now he had marched so much against the nation's liking; and that could he have believed the people of England would have taken so much alarm at that marriage [of the duke of York with Mary of Modena] he should have taken care to have stopped it in time; but that having let one fault pass, to admit another much worse, was a thing he doubted not but would cause such earthquakes, as he was resolved not to run the risk of therefore should not do it. So that article was wholly laid aside and the treaty concluded without it; by which the French king was to pay ours an

annuity of twelve hundred thousand crowns, whereof six hundred thousand in hand, besides a donative of like sum for extraordinaries: and if any occasion should happen by crossness of parliaments, rebellion or otherwise, that should reasonably require so much, then he was promised to have it augmented to twelve millions of livres,* whilst such troubles should last; though this latter part they never intended, but gave orders he should be treated only with a bit now and then . . . . only if a civil war should happen, they were to feed it on both sides, till it were fit to pour French forces among them, &c. . . . . In this treaty, which was concluded by a private agent, as were the others, there was a clause inserted which gave the king leave, if too much pressed upon, to pretend as if he would side with the confederates against France, and to get money of them, as also of his parliament on that account; yet he was by no means to declare, but to get an army and revenue settled for some time, such as was supposed to be the duration of the war, and then to use both the one and the other to settle his prerogative royal and to make himself absolute.

Heneage Finch made Lord Chancellor.

Crook's Historian's Guide.

Dec. 19, 1676.

Heneage Lord Finch, baron of Daventry, and lord keeper of the great seal of England, delivering

* It should be recollected here and elsewhere that the French *livre* is the *franc*, not the English pound sterling.

up the seal to his majesty, received it immediately back again with the title of lord high chancellor of England.

Public opinion having compelled the King to assent to an alliance with the Dutch, and a war with France, Charles endeavours to extract £600,000 from the Commons on that excuse; after an adjournment the Commons proceed to discuss the matter in private sittings. Public distrust of the King.

Private debates in the House of Commons in the year 1677, Lond., 1702.

Private debates in the House of Commons
(Begun Monday, May 21, 1677,)
In relation to a war with France, etc.

The parliament met according to their late adjournment from April 16th to the 21st May, 1677. There was no speech to the parliament, but in the House of Commons.

This meeting was opened with a verbal message, delivered by Mr. Secretary Coventry; wherein his Majesty acquainted the House that having according to their desire in their answer to his last message, April the 16th, directed their adjournment to this time because they did acknowledge it as unparliamentary to grant supplies when the House was so thin, in expectation of a speedy adjournment. And having so issued out his proclamation of summons, to the end that there might be a full House, he did now expect they would forthwith enter upon the consideration of his last message. And because he

did intend there should be a great recess very quickly.

Upon this it was moved, That the king's last message of the 16th of April, and the answer thereunto, should be read; and they were read accordingly.

Thereupon, after a long silence, a discourse began about their expectation and the necessity of alliances; and particularly it was intimated that an alliance with Holland was most expedient. For that we should deceive ourselves if we thought we could be otherwise defended. For we alone could not withstand the French, his purse and power is too great; nor could the Dutch withstand him alone, but both together might.

The general discourse was, That they came with an expectation to have alliances declared; and if they were not made so as to be imparted, they were not called or come to that purpose they were desired and hoped to meet; and if few days might ripen them, they would be content to adjourn for that mean time.

The secretary *et al.* said, These alliances were of great weight and difficulty, and the time had been short. But if they were finished, yet it was not convenient to publish them till the king was in a readiness and posture to prosecute and maintain them; till then, his Majesty could not so much as speak out or insist upon his words. That without £600,000 it would not be possible for him to speak or act those things which should answer the ends of the several addresses without exposing the kingdom to a much greater danger.

By others it was observed and said, that they met now upon a public notice by proclamation, which proclamation was in pursuance of their last address, in which they desired the king they might adjourn to such a time, as within which (they hoped) the alliances might be fixed, so as to be imparted. They mentioned not any particular day. If his Majesty had not thought this time long enough for that purpose he might have appointed the adjournment for a longer time. Or he might have given notice by proclamation, that upon this Act they should rejourn to a yet longer time.

But truly the time hath been sufficient, especially considering the readiness of the parties to be allied with ; it is five weeks since our recess. He that was a minister chiefly employed concerning the Triple League, has published in print that the League was made in five days. And yet this might well be thought a matter more tedious and longer than this. For when a people are in profound peace (as the Dutch then were) it is not easy to embrace them presently into leagues. They have time, and may take time for great deliberation. But here the people are in desire of war and need our alliance : and therefore it might be contracted with ease and expedition, were we as forward as they.

Neither is five weeks the limit of time that hath been for this purpose. For it is above ten weeks since we first addressed for these alliances.

And as to the objection, that it was not fit to make them known before preparations were made ; it was

said that the force of that lay in this: that the French would be alarmed. To which it was answered that the asking and giving money for this purpose would be no less an alarm. For the French could not be ignorant of what addresses and answers have passed. And if money be granted to make warlike preparations for the ends therein specified, it is rather a greater discovery and denouncing of what we intend against the French.

Lib. 2, *Cap.* 2 *Sect.* 39, *et alib.* Lord Bacon's *Essay of Empry.*

Grotius (de jure belli et pacis). If a prince makes extraordinary preparations (a neighbour prince being affected by them) may expostulate and demand an account of the purpose for which they are intended, and if he receive not satisfaction that they are not to be used against him, it is a cause of war on his part, so as the neighbour may begin (if he think fit) and is not bound to stay till they first prepare and begin actual hostility, and this is agreeable to reason and the nature of governments.

Now the French king is a vigilant prince and has wise ministers about him, upon which general account though we had not (as we have seen) an extraordinary embassy here, during our recess, we should suppose that the French king has demanded an account of our king's purpose whether the extraordinary preparations (that are begun to be made) are designed against him or not. In which case his Majesty could give one of these three reasons.

I. To say, they are not designed against him, and then his Majesty may acquaint us with the same, and then there is no reason of giving money.

II. To say, they are designed against him. In which case, his Majesty may very well impart the same to us, for it were in vain to conceal it from us, to the end that the French might be alarmed when it is before expressly told the French, that the design was against them.

III. To give a doubtful answer; but that resolves on the second. For when a prince, out of an apprehension that extraordinary preparations may be used, desires a clear, categorical, and satisfactory answer concerning the matter (as the manner of princes is) a dubious answer does not at all satisfy the enquiry or allay his jealousy. But in what case it is, and is used to be taken and understood that the forces are designed against him. And if his Majesty have given no answer at all (which is not probable) it is the same with the last. So that this being so, by one means or other, the French have the knowledge of the king's purpose. And if it but be known so or but guessed at by them why is this concealed from the Parliament? Why this darkness towards us?

Besides, we expect so much as we would hope for, so long as we are afraid the French should have known what we are a doing.

In this state of uncertainty and unripeness the House adjourned to Wednesday morning, nine of the clock, and having first ordered the Committee for the Bill for recalling his Majesty's forces out of

the French king's service, to sit this afternoon, which did sit accordingly and went through the Bill.

Wednesday, May 23, '77.

His Majesty sent a message for the House to attend him presently at the Banqueting House at Whitehall: where he made a speech to them. After which, the Commons returning to the House and the speech being there read, they presently resolved to consider it, and after a little while resolved into a Committee of the whole House for the more full, free, and regular debate.

The secretary and others propounded to supply the king, wherein they said they did not press the House but they might do as they pleased.

But if it were expected that alliances should be made and known, there must be £600,000 raised to make preparations before; for the king declared, that without it, it was not possible for him to speak or act, &c. He could not safely step a step further. The king had the right of making peace, and war, and leagues, as this House has of giving money.

He could not have money without them, and [they] the alliancy without him.

The king considered this matter, and this was his judgment: That he ought by such a sum to be put into a posture to maintain and prosecute his alliances; before they could or should be declared our nakednesses or weaknesses would be exposed, (because) 'tis true, as has been objected, the asking and giving money for this purpose would alarm as much as the

declaration of alliances. But then it will defend too; a whip may alarm a wild beast, but it will not defend the man.

We know the king would strip himself to his shirt rather than hazard the nation. He has done much already, he has set out and made ready to set out forty-four ships. But they must be distributed to several places for convoys, &c. There would need (it may be) forty more in a body, and it is difficult to get seamen, many are gone into the service of the French and Dutch, and the king is forced to press now.

The king hath not had any fruits of the £200,000 credit provided him upon the three years' excise.

He has tried the city to borrow money of them thereupon, and my lord mayor returned answer that he could not encourage his Majesty to depend upon the city for it.

Several others somewhat differing speak to this effect.

We should consider in this case as in the case of the king's letters patent, proclamations, &c. If any thing in them be against law and reason the lawyers and courts end it void, and reckon it not to be said or done by the king.

For the king can do nothing wrong, though his council may.

So we must look in the king's speeches and messages as the product of council, and therefore (if any mistake be) it must be imputed to the error of his council, and it must be taken the king never said it.

Now to apply: certainly the treating and concluding of alliances requires not a previous sum of money; however the king's council may misinform him, they may be propounded and accepted here by the means of the foreign ministers even without an embassy to be sent hence.

And yet if they were requisite it were not an extraordinary charge.

Alliances may be made forthwith, and then money would be granted forthwith.

If they were declared to-day the £600,000 would be given to-morrow, and more as occasion should require.

And there is no fear but money would be found for this purpose.

Our own extravagances would maintain a war.

The money that has been provided the king already this session is sufficient for all preparations that can possibly be made before those alliances are made.

Forty ships of ours, with the help of the Dutch, are a good defence against the French at sea now he is entangled in Sicily, the West Indies, &c.

In the triple league it was stipulated that forty of our ships and forty of the Dutch should be provided, and they were thought sufficient for the purpose.

If it were requisite that forty more ships should be set out £600,000 is enough to maintain and pay them a whole year, for the carpenters' work and the like, as should presently be requisite for fitting them to go out a little money would serve. And surely this is

the only preparation that can be meant: that we should fortify the land with forts, garrisons, walled towns, &c. It is not six millions will do it; but our strength, force, and defence is our ships.

For the debate of this day it is as great and weighty as ever was any in England. It concerns our very being, and includes our religion, liberty, and property. The door towards France must be shut and guarded; for so long as it is open our treasure and trade will creep out and their religion will creep in at it. And this time is our season; some mischief will be done, and so there will be at any time when the war is begun, but now the least.

The French is not very dangerous to us now, nor to be much feared at this present. But we ought to advise and act so now, as we need not fear or despair hereafter: when the French will make peace beyond sea and likely he will make alliances with those people, with whom we defer to make them. How ripe and great will our misery be then.

The power and policy of the French is extraordinary, his money influenceth round about him; we are glad to observe what is said by the king. That his Majesty agrees with us in the end, and we hope he will be convinced of the unreasonableness of the means which is to make, and follow these alliances without plainly, we can give no account to ourselves or those we represent, of giving money. We have made several addresses about some of the king's ministers, their management, &c., of which we have seen but little fruit.

There have continually almost to this hour gone out of England, succours to France, of men, powder, ammunition, ordnance, &c., not to rake into the matter how far the ministers have been active or passive in this nor to mention any other particulars, we must say (that unless) the ministers, or their minds, are altered we have no reason to trust money in their hands; though we declare we have no reason to declare or attempt upon them. But could rather propose to them an easy way how they might have an oblivion, nay, and the thanks of the people *(viz)*: That they should endeavour and contend who could do most to dispose the king to comply with this advice of his Parliament.

We think (the prosecuting these alliances) the only good use for which money can be employed. And therefore before we give we would be secured it should be employed to their purpose, and not by miscounsels be directed to others.

This is the mature counsel of Parliament and no cross or evil counsel is to be received or trusted for attaining these great ends which the king and Parliament are agreed on.

It was an error committed in the late king's time, and which looks as if men had given counsel on purpose to destroy that good king had he not by the care and faithfulness of bishop Juxon and others collected and preserved a good sum of money before the Scotch rebellion, in 1639.

Upon that rebellion he was advised to raise an army at land, which was indeed necessary. But he

was likewise advised to set out several of his great rate ships. This appeared in the papers of sir Robert Long's office, and may there be seen still if the papers are not scattered. A man cannot tell for what end this advice was given, unless to spend the king's money. For the Admiralty of Scotland is not now, and much less was it then, so considerable as to require any such force against it.

And if the design was to hinder their commerce and succours by sea the charge of one of those great ships might have been divided and applied to the setting out of five or six lesser ships, each of which was capable of doing as much for that service as such a great one, and would abide at sea longer.

This is a plain case, that unless the power of France be lowered we cannot be safe, and without our conjunction with the other confederates that cannot be done.

The question is whether the present time is the proper time for this work? Certainly it is. For now there is a happy confederation against the French which we cannot hope so well to have continued, without our coming into it, if once the same be broken.

The very season of the year favours the business. It's proper and safe to begin with the French in the summer, now he is engaged and not at leisure. Whereas, in the winter, when the armies are drawn out of the field, he will be able to apply himself to us.

As to the citizens not advancing money upon the old credit (we are informed) they were never regularly or effectually asked.

My lord mayor indeed was spoken to, and perhaps some of the aldermen. But they are not the city. He sent about cursorily to some of the citizens to know if they would lend, of which they took little or no notice; for the custom in such a case has always been that some lords of the council do go down to the common council, which is the representative body of the city, and there propound the matter.

Besides, in this particular case the citizens generally asked the same questions we do: are the alliances made? And said if they were made, then would they lend money, but if not they saw no cause for it.

Philip the Second of Spain made an observation in his will, or some last memorial, and it is since published by Monsieur.

He observes the vanity of any princes aspiring at the universal monarchy, for that it naturally made the rest of the world jointly his enemies. Ambition blinds men (and) suffers them not to look back upon such experiences. But the observation shows what is natural for others to do in such a case, and that the way to repel and break such a design is by the mindful consideration.

Philip the Second was capable of making this observation, for in his hands perished the Spanish design of universal monarchy, and that chiefly by the conjunction of the English and Dutch against him.

In the process of which debate several gentlemen did more particularly explain themselves, and propounded to advise their desire to the king, for a

league offensive and defensive with the Dutch, and against the French power.

Against which a specious objection was made.

That the Dutch were already treating with the French: and it is likely they would slip their necks from the collars, make a separate peace for themselves, and leave us engaged in a war with France.

To which it was answered, that there was no just fear of that. The Dutch were interested in repressing the power of France as well as we; and they know their interest. It was reasonable for them to say, if England (which is as much concerned in this danger) will not assist us, we will make the best terms for ourselves we can.

There is yet a seam of land between the French and us: we may trade by or under the French, &c. But if England will join with the Dutch, they cannot find one syllable of reason to desert the common cause.

They have observed a propensity in the people of England to help them, but not in the Court of England. If they can find that the Court does heartily join, it will above all things oblige and confirm them.

In 1667, when the Dutch were in peace and plenty, when Flanders was a greater bulwark to them, for the French had not pierced so far into it, and when the direction of their affairs was in the hands of an inveterate enemy to the crown of England (John de Witt) yet then their interests did so far govern him and them, as to enter into the Triple League against the growth and power of France, and keep it more down most certainly.

Therefore now they are exhausted and weakened by war and stand in need of our help; now the French have approached near the banks of their country, and are increased in naval forces, to the danger of their trade and navigation; and now their affairs are chiefly directed by a kinsman of the crown of England (the Prince of Orange) they cannot deflect or depart from a league they make with us against our common enemy.

It was moved, That there might be a league offensive and defensive with Spain and the Dutch, and other convenient alliances with the rest of the confederates. But the particulars concerning Spain was contracted and laid aside by the concurrent discourse of the members to this purpose.

We court an alliance with Spain above all others, for they are the owners of the Netherlands, for whose preservation we have addressed. That it is with Spain we have the most if not the only profitable trade. And the Spaniards are gallant, good, and sure friends, but they are remote; and we know not whether there are full powers here or at Brussels for this matter. And to wait for their coming from Madrid would make church-work (as they call it), whereas we need the swiftest expedition.

Therefore they voted their addresses to be particular and expressly for such a league with the Dutch and the Spaniards, together with the other confederates in general.

This passed with a very good consent. There was an extraordinary full house, and upon putting the

question there was but two negative voices to it.

There were other more extraordinary particulars appointed to be in the address, but no contest or debate about them.

The vote is as follows:

Resolved, That an address be made to the king that his Majesty will be pleased to enter into a league offensive and defensive, with the States General of the United Provinces, and to make such other alliances with such other of the confederates as his Majesty shall think fit against the growth and power of the French king, and for the preservation of the Spanish Netherlands: and that a committee be appointed to draw up an address with reasons why this House cannot comply with his Majesty's speech until such alliances were entered into. And further showing the necessity of a speedy making of such alliances; and when such alliances are made giving his Majesty assurance of speedy and cheerful supplies from time to time for supporting and maintaining these alliances.

To which the speaker resumed the chair, and this being reported the House agreed and appointed a committee and adjourned over Ascension Day to Friday, nine o'clock.

Friday [May] 25, 1677.

Sir John Turner reported from the said committee; but before it was agreed to there was a debate and division of the House.

It was observed and objected that there was but

one reason given herein for declining the granting money, and that is the unprecedentedness. And as to one of the instances to this purpose mentioned *(viz.)*:

The king's first Dutch war, it was said to be mistaken, for that £200,000 was voted before the war declared. But it was answered that if the declaration was not before the grant of the money (which remains a query), yet 'twas certain the war itself and great hostilities were before the money. And some said there might be other reasons assigned against giving money before those alliances, but they rather desired to spare them; only in general said it was not reasonable to grant money before there was a change, they would not say of counsellors but of counsels. . . . Then a gentleman produced and read the king's speech made on Monday, Feb. the 1st, 1676, wherein he speaks chiefly of the league, which afterwards, when the Swedes came into it, was called the Triple League.

It begins thus:—

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I am glad to see you here again, to tell you what I have done in this interval, which I am confident you will be pleased with, since it is so much for the honour and security of this nation. I have made a league with the States of the United Provinces, and likewise a mediation of peace between the two crowns. Into which league that of Swedeland, by his ambassador, has offered to enter as a principal. I did not at our last meeting move you for any aids,

though I lie under great debts contracted in the last war. But now the posture of our neighbours abroad and the consequences of this new alliance, will oblige me for our security to set out a considerable fleet to sea this summer : and besides I must build more great ships. And 'tis necessary that I do something in order to the fortifying of some of our ports, I have begun something myself in order to those ends. But if I have not your speedy assistance I shall not be able to go through with it. Wherefore I do earnestly desire you to take into your speedy consideration, &c.

Which shows a proper course and practice that kings communicate first their alliances, before they demand supplies upon the account of them. So this exception was let fall.

But the main objection managed against it, was upon the main point of the address. In which they desired his Majesty to make a league offensive and defensive with the Dutch, and such other alliances with the rest as he should think fit.

Those which were in the particulars or particularising spoke to this effect.

This is an invasion of his Majesty's prerogative, in making peace and war and leagues, and it's the worse for the distinction, which is used in respect of the Dutch and the rest. By which you giving him express direction as to the Dutch and reserving to his discretion as to the others, it looks and gives an unbrage as if what we were to do were by your league.

The ancient land-mark and boundary between the king and his people must not be removed.

This power is one of the few things reserved to the Crown. Parliaments are sufficient to treat *de arduis*. But it is but *de quibusdam arduis*. This is unprecedented.

The marriage of the Royal Family is such a particular thing reserved to the king, and the matter of the lady Arabella is an instance.

Queen Elizabeth resented it high, that the Parliament should propound her marriage. And she said, however, it was well they did not name the person. If they had named the person it had been intolerable.

Now here you name the persons with whom you would have the king to ally. If you may go so far, you may come to draw up a treaty and propose to the king to assign it.

Lawyers can acquaint you with a precedent in Richard the Second's time, wherein the king nominated to the Commons a matter of peace and war to be treated on, and they refer it back to him as a thing not fit to consult of.

By this you will put a great indecorum on the king. He is now concerned as a mediator at Nimeguen, and it would be an indecent thing for him at the same time to declare himself a party. It's believed the House of Austria, though they sent a full power for that purpose, yet never intended to conclude a peace, but it were an absurd thing of them to declare so in public.

There must be a public decorum. This is the way

to have the king to have the worse bargain with the confederates. For the observing him now he is importuned, and, as it were, driven to make those alliances, will slacken and lessen to make those advantageous offers which otherwise they will be forced to give.

And again they said his Majesty did agree with the House in the end, and did not doubt but he would prosecute it by the same means as was desired. But his prerogative was not to be encroached upon. This manner of proceeding would never obtain with the king.

On the other side several spoke to this effect: "We ought to consider we are upon the question of agreeing an address drawn by our committee and by our order. If they have not in matter and manner corresponded with our direction and intention we have cause to disagree. But were the exception taken, and cause pressed, why we should not agree with them is because they have observed the very words and substance of our order, which exactly justifies this draft.

I. This passed on Wednesday upon a full debate, in a very full House.

II. Only contradicting, but not one then speaking, or thinking that the king's prerogative was touched; and therefore it is strange it should be made the great objection and question of this day.

But the prerogative is not at all entrenched upon; we do not pretend to treat or make alliance, we only offer our advice about them, and leave it with the

king; he may do what he pleaseth. Either make, or not make them. It is no more than other persons may do to the king, doubtless the Privy Council may advise in this particular, and why not this great council? This rate of discourse would make the king's prerogative merely consist in not being advised by his Parliament of all people.

There are manifold precedents of such advices and leagues which have been made by advice of Parliament and have been ratified in Parliament in E. III., R. II., and in Henry the Fifth's time, and especially with Sigismund the emperor, and the king of the Romans. And Henry the Fifth was a magnanimous prince, and not to be imposed upon.

Jac. 18, the Parliament advised the king about the making and managing war. And we may well remember our own advising the first Dutch war. But if that were no precedent in this particular case, it were no good objection, for matter of advice is not to be a circumferised precedent. If there be a new case, there must be a new council. Perhaps there is no precedent for such a case, if a prince should join in war, together with another prince, when the other prince was too potent before. And when this was discerned and a peace made, yet supplies should continually go out of the first prince's dominions to the service of that other prince, and that notwithstanding several addresses and advices to the contrary.

'Tis true as objected, that the Commons have sometimes declined in advising in matters of war,

&c., proposed to them, but that shows not their want of right to meddle therewith, but rather the contrary. The very truth is, it hath been the desire and endeavours of kings in all ages to engage their Parliaments in advising war, &c., that so they might be obliged to supply the king to the utmost for and through it.

But they out of a prudent caution have sometimes waived the matter, lest they should engage further and deeper than they were aware of or willing.

Since his Majesty's treating as mediator at Nimeguen about the general peace, it is a great reason why we should specify the alliances desired, as we have done, that we might make it known we are far from desiring such alliances as might be made by and with a general peace. But on the contrary coveting such as might present and secure us against that dangerous and formidable peace. Doubtless the confederates will offer honourable and worthy terms. Their necessity is too great for them to boggle, or take advantage. Nor will they think this league the less worthy because we advise it, but rather value it the more because it is done unanimously by the king, with the advice and applause of his people in Parliament.

We cannot suppose that our propounding this to his Majesty will prejudice our address or endanger its miscarriage, since it is for his Majesty's advantage. In that it obliges us to supply him, in all degrees, through his affairs. And the more particular it is, the more still for the king's advantage. For if it had

been more general, and the king thereupon made alliances, whatever they were, men might have thought or said that they were not the alliances intended, and might be used as an excuse, or reason, for their not giving money. But this (as it is now) does not expressly, strictly, and particularly bind us up.

We reflect that a great deal of time, and precious time, has been spent since our addressing on this subject, and finding no effectual fruit (especially of our last address) we have cause to apprehend we are not clearly understood in what we mean. Now it is the ordinary way in pursuing discourse in such a case, and it is proper and natural for us, to speak out more explicitly and particularly, and tell his Majesty that what we meant is a league offensive and defensive, &c. And to persuade us to address on in a more general term than before, is to persuade us that as we have done nothing these ten weeks, so we should do nothing still. And since his Majesty, in his last message and last speech, hath been pleased to demand £600,000 for answering the purpose of our address, and assures us the money shall not be employed to other use than we would have it employed in, it is most reasonable for us to declare plainly the use and purpose we intend, that so it may be consented and clearly understood of all hands. And therefore it is well to mention to his Majesty these express alliances. We think no other alliances worth the said sum. And we withal promising and undertaking that his Majesty shall

have this and no more for those ends. Nor have we any cause to apprehend that his Majesty will take ill this our advice in league.

In this manner we have presented more than our address for alliances against the growth and power of the French. And his Majesty hath received, admitted, and answered them without any manner of exception. And if we may address for alliances with a particular prince or state it cannot be less regular or particular than the former.

And moreover, though we know the punctual precedent is on our side beside our commissioners, by our writs, to treat *de arduis et urgentibus negotiis, regis statu; et defensionem regni, et ecclesiæ Anglicanæ concerentibus.* And besides the king's general intimations in his printed speech, yet if it be said to be a decent and a proper thing to have his Majesty's leave and consent before we proceed on such a matter in such a manner as we now do; we say, that in effect it is with us too. For consider all the former addresses and his Majesty's answers and messages thereupon, it will appear that his Majesty hath engaged and encouraged us too upon this subject. And that which we expect and would have is not to limit, or check, or advise, but open and enlarge our gift.

His Majesty appears content to be thoroughly advised, provided he be proportionately furnished and enabled with money, which we (being now ready to do) clearly and conclusively present him our address for the application of it, those mistakes and

mistrusts which his Majesty saith he *finds some ready to make*, as if he had called us together only to get money from us for other uses than we would have it employed in.

And truly the advising these alliances, together with assuring his Majesty thereupon to assist and supply him presently and plentifully to prosecute the same is our only way of complying and corresponding with his last speech. For those followed and supported by these supplies are the only means and method to put his Majesty in the best condition, both to defend his subjects and to offend his enemies. And so there will be no fault in his Majesty nor us; but his and our security will sufficiently be provided for.

Besides it will be worse, it will be a very bad thing indeed, not to make the address. For this particular, now *since we have* resolved it already, our intention being to have the Dutch, &c. (comforted, and encouraged, and assured), we did order this on Wednesday.

And there is public notice taken of it abroad and beyond sea: if we should not upon solemn debates set the same aside it would beget a great doubt, discomfort, and discouragement to them. It is one thing never to have ordered it, another to retract it: also it was said that this was necessary, for suppose (which is not credible) the French should be prevailed with to deliver up all Lorraine, Flanders, Alsace, and other conquered places, are we safe? *No.* He has too much money, and this money is in

great measure, a million sterling, supplied him from hence. We must depress him by force, as soon as may be. And further, we must have leagues and laws to impoverish them. We must destroy the French trade. This would quiet and secure us. This would make our lands rise, and would enable us to set our king at ease.

After this long debate the House came to the question : whether this particular league, offensive and defensive, should be left out of the address ? Upon which question the House divided.

Yeas, 142. Noes, 182.

So that it was carried by 40 that it should stand.

The main question was put for agreeing with the committee to the address, which passed in the affirmative without division of the House.

Then it was ordered that those members of the House who were of his Majesty's Privy Council should move his Majesty to know his pleasure, when the House might wait upon him with the address.

Mr. Poole reported from the committee, of amendments to the Bill for the recalling his Majesty's subjects out of the French king's service, which were read and agreed to by the House, and the Bill, with the amendments, ordered to be engrossed.

Saturday, May 26, 1677.

The House being sate and notice by Mr. Secretary Coventry that the king would receive their address at three o'clock in the afternoon. Then the Bill for recalling his Majesty's subjects (being engrossed) was read a third time and passed.

ALGERNON SIDNEY.

The effect of it in short is this, that all and every of his Majesty's born subjects who should continue or be, after the first day of August next, in the military service of the French king, should be disenabled to inherit any lands, tenements or hereditaments, and be incapable of any gift, grant, or legacy, or to be executor or administrator, and (being convicted) should be adjudged guilty of felony without benefit of clergy, and not pardonable by his Majesty, his heirs, or successors, except only by Act of Parliament, wherein such offender should be particularly named.

The like appointment touching such as should continue in the sea service of the French king after the tenth day of May, 1678. This act as to prohibiting that offence and inflicting the penalties, to continue but for two years. But the executing and proceeding upon it, for offences against the act, might be at any time after as within two years.

Then it was ordered that Mr. Poole should carry the bill to the Lords, and with all put the Lords in mind of a Bill for the better suppressing the growth of Popery, which they had sent up to the Lords before Easter, which was forthwith done accordingly.

As soon as this was ordered, several other bills were moved to be read, etc., but the members generally said No, they would proceed on nothing but the French and Popery and so adjourned to the afternoon, when they attended the king with their address in the Banqueting House, at Whitehall, which being presented, the king answered that it was long, and of great importance; that he would consider of, and give them an answer as soon as he could.

Monday, May 28, 1677.

The House being sat, they received notice by Mr. Secretary Coventry, that the king expected them immediately at the Banqueting House, (which when being come) the king made a speech to them on the subject of the address, which speech to prevent mistakes his Majesty read out of the paper, and then delivered the same to the Speaker, and his Majesty added a few words about the adjournment, upon this they returning to the House, the Speaker read the king's speech, which was as follows:

"Gentlemen,—

"Could I have been silent I would rather have chosen to be so than to call to mind things so unfit for you to meddle with, as are contained in some parts of your last address, wherein you have entrenched upon so undoubted a right of the Crown that I am confident it will appear in no age (when the sword was not drawn) that the prerogative of making peace and war hath been so dangerously invaded.

"You do not content yourselves with desiring me to enter into such leagues as may be for the safety of the kingdom, but you tell me what sort of leagues they must be, and with whom; and, as your address is worded, it is more liable to be understood to be by your leave than at your request that I should make such other alliances as I please with other of the confederates.

"Should I suffer this fundamental power of making peace and war to be so far invaded (though but once) as to have the manner and circumstances of

leagues prescribed to me by Parliament, it's plain that no prince or state would any longer believe that the sovereignty of England rests in the Crown. Nor could I think myself to signify any more to foreign princes than the empty sound of a king. Wherefore you may rest assured that no condition shall make me depart from or lessen so essential a part of the monarchy. And I am willing to believe so well of this House of Commons, that I am confident these ill consequences are not intended by you.

"These are in short the reasons why I can by no means approve of your address, and yet, though you have declined to grant me that supply which is so necessary to the ends of it, I do again declare to you that as I have done all that lay in my power since your last meeting, so I will still apply myself by all the means I can to let the world see my care both for the security and satisfaction of my people, although it may not be with those advantages to them which by your assistance I might have procured."

And then the Speaker reported that his Majesty added by word of mouth,

That his Majesty was further pleased to declare his pleasure to them that the House should be adjourned till the 16th of July next, telling them he would give them notice by his proclamation when his Majesty intended they should sit again, which his Majesty was pleased to say should not be till the winter, unless there were some extraordinary occasion of calling them sooner.

And accordingly being returned to Westminster

the House of Commons was adjourned till the 16th of July next.

Then a member standing up to speak, and many calling for him to be heard, the Speaker said no, none ought to be heard after the king had required and ordered their adjournment, and said the king had ordered them to adjourn. Whereupon several said that he could not adjourn them; but it was they must adjourn themselves, and that he could not leave the chair but by a question and the vote of the House, and offered to show a precedent of sitting after direction from the king to adjourn. But the Speaker said no, they were not to be, since the king had determined as he had, and said they were adjourned till the 16th of July next, and so went hastily from the chair.

Monday, July 16, 1677.

The Parliament meet again but only in order to adjourn. In the House of Commons the prayers were read and the ordinary prayer for the blessing the councils of Parliament, and then the Speaker took the chair, and Mr. Secretary Coventry signified to the House his Majesty's pleasure that they should adjourn themselves immediately till December 3rd, which message the Speaker reported, and then sat down again, perhaps in expectation of a motion to be made to adjourn accordingly.

But there was no such motion expressly made; only some cried the Question, the Question, etc.

My lord Ca[vend]ish moved that their last order

might be read, meaning the order about the last adjournment, to the end they might take notice of the authority by which they met there now; and this was said was usual and regular to be done.

Mr. Williams seconded the motion, and said he did it rather because there had been some discourse of some informality in the last adjournment. Thereupon presently the Speaker rose up and said, "Gentlemen, the king has commanded that the House be adjourned till the 3rd of December," and then went immediately from the chair and out of the House in the same manner as the last time; several members saying it ought to have been done by a question and some speaking hard words after the Speaker. There were near two hundred members in the House.

Marriage of the Prince of Orange.

Crook's Historian's Guide.

1677, Nov. 7.

A marriage solemnized between the Prince of Orange and the lady Mary at St. James's by the bishop of London.

The Parliament thank the King for the Alliance with Holland.

Reresby, 1785, p. 55.

November [1677].

The Parliament met, and the king, in his speech, informed them that he was entered in a strict alliance with the Prince of Orange and the United Provinces to oppose the French king and the progress

of his arms in Flanders; and desired he might have money to enable him to fulfil his engagements.

The Commons immediately voted an address of thanks to the king for the care he had taken of the Protestant religion in marrying his niece to the Prince of Orange, but observed they could grant no supplies for the war if his Majesty and his allies would not engage not to lay down their arms till the treaty of the Pyrenees was performed, and till the French king was reduced to the condition he was then in; for, that without this, neither this kingdom nor the rest of Christendom was safe.

Memorial to King Charles I.

Ibid., p. 56.

They [the Parliament] now voted the sum of seventy thousand pounds to be raised for the royal interment of king Charles the martyr, and for erecting a monument to his memory.

Assistance voted for the war.

Ibid., p. 56.

Feb. 4 [1678].

The king sent us an answer to our address, and therein pressed us to raise money to carry on the war . . . it was carried by two and forty votes to assist his Majesty in the war.

Ibid., p. 58.

Feb. 27.

The Commons voted a million to enable the king to make war with France for the preservation of Flanders.

Parliament becomes suspicious of the king.

Ibid., 1735, p. 62.

1678, May.

At this time many well meaning men began to fear the army now raised was rather intended to awe our own kingdom than to war against France, as had been at first suggested, and now (May 8), it being put to the question, whether an address should be made to the king for laying aside duke Lauderdale of the kingdom of Scotland it was carried in the negative by one vote only.

The question was put again and carried, that such councillors as had advised the king to make such answers to the late addresses from his Parliament, being betrayers of the king and kingdom, or to that effect, an address should be humbly presented to his Majesty, to lay them aside from his councils, and remove them from their other employments. This address was accordingly, and his Majesty's answer was this, that they were so extravagant in the contents of it that he was not willing to make such reply to it as it deserved. Lauderdale was particularly named. And the same day it was carried, though but by one vote in a full House, that the king's message lately sent to them to consider of some means for a supply to his Majesty for paying off his fleet, should not be observed. The king understanding the tide of their proceedings to run so very high, prorogued them to the 23rd of the same month, which put a stop to their further proceedings.

1678.—Meeting of Parliament. Charles informs the Commons of his intentions concerning the Treaty of Nimeguen.

Ibid., p. 63, et seq.

May 23.

The Parliament met pursuant to adjournment, when the king spoke to them a little more briskly than usual. He told them a peace was near upon conclusion between France and the Confederates, at which they were extremely concerned. This peace with France, when there was like to be so strong an union combined to reduce that proud and potent king to a better sense of himself, was very ungrateful news to England; and therefore the king, to throw the blame of it upon the Commons, told us in his speech it was owing to his refusal of money, till something was done for the security of their religion; their negligence to direct or advise him concerning the intended war, or to assist him till he had changed councillors, and consequently the little hopes the confederates could have of help from him; that this, together with the low condition of Spain, had prompted them to lend an ear to the offers of peace; not to speak of the sluggish motion of the Germans, the difficulty of getting them together, their princes being influenced by such discordant views and interests, and the present poverty of the States General, all which had contributed towards the cessation of the war.

But still our king was chiefly condemned in this great affair, as he so long deferred to engage in this

alliance, which, had he sooner done, the French king had never dared to persist in the war. At least, he could not have made so great a progress in Flanders, or have been able to make so good a market for himself as he did by this peace.

To this our king made answer he could not have believed the French king would have been able to weather out a war so well as he did, though in a manner against all Europe, himself and the king only excepted, who sat neuters; and that in case this number of enemies had humbled that kingdom, England might well have been satisfied with the having been an unconcerned looker-on while she engrossed all the commerce of Europe, and might in the end have reaped an equal share of advantage with even the labourers themselves who had been at all the pains and expense.

Vote for the Disbandment of the Army.

Reresby, 1735, p. 66.

June 4 [1678].

The Commons voted two hundred thousand pounds to be given for disbanding the army; but under great restrictions, fearing the king might take the money and convert it to other uses. Wherefore great penalties were levelled against the officers of the exchequer and others through whose hands it was to pass, to prevent their diverting it from its right channel, and this done, the money was cheerfully given, the nation and its representatives dreading nothing so much at that time as a standing army.

Rumours of a Rupture in the Negotiations at Nimeguen.

Reresby, 1735, p. 65, 66.

June 22, 1678.

About this time there was a fresh discourse about a war with France, the French king and ours not agreeing concerning the interest of the king of Sweden, which the French would have to be adjusted before they would deliver up the towns they had taken in Flanders. But by what I heard I thought the thing had but an unlikely aspect, and particularly as I had seen the king, duke, and French ambassador so very often merry and intimate together at the duchess of Portsmouth's lodgings laughing at those who believed it in earnest.

The Treaty concluded.
The French King's pseudo concessions.
Extracts from the Treaty of Nimeguen: the chief articles VII. and VIII.

Leonard. Collection de Traités de Paix, Paris, 1678.

Aug. 10, 1678.

Article VII.

Each party shall remain seised, and shall enjoy the districts, towns, situations, estates, isles, and baronies as much within as without Europe, which he holds and possesses at present, without being troubled or disquieted either directly or indirectly in any way whatsoever.

Article VIII.

But his most christian Majesty wishing, as at first, to become again friendly with the lords, the States-

General, and to give them a particular proof of his friendship on that occasion, will give back to them, immediately upon the exchange of ratifications, the town of Mastricht, with the county of Bronef and the counties and districts of Fauquemont, Aalhem, and Rolleduc beyond the Meuse, with the villages of Redemption, Banc de S. Servais, and all which belongs to the said town.

&c., &c., in all xxi. articles.

Signed,

Le Marechal d'Estrades,	H. Beverningk,
Colbert,	W. de Nassau,
De Mesures,	W. Haren.

[Should any student wish to study the events of the Popish Plot, the Editor would refer him to the Eleventh report of the Historical MSS. Commission. Appendix, Part II. which is entirely composed of data for such a study.]

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ERRATA.

Page 9, line 13, ad init. *delete* "of."

Page 10, line 15, for "fown" *read* "town."

Page 31, line 16, ad init. *insert* "his."

Page 45, line 13, ad init. *insert* "but."

Page 52, line 18, for "Cook's Historian's Guide" *read* "Crook's Historian's Guide."

Ibid, line 24, for "Dr. Kirtou" *read* "Dr. Kirton."

Page 110, line 12, for "two" *read* "too."

Page 132, heading for "Peace with Holland" *read* "Disgrace of Buckingham."

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